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The Epistle to the Galatians

THE DESTINATION AND DATE OF THE
EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS



THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS

AN ESSAY ON
ITS DESTINATION AND DATE

*WITH AN APPENDIX ON THE VISIT TO JERUSALEM
RECORDED IN CHAPTER II.*

BEING AN ENLARGEMENT OF THE NORRISIAN PRIZE ESSAY FOR 1898 ON
"THE LOCALITY OF THE CHURCHES OF GALATIA"

✓ BY
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PREFACE.

THE first five chapters of the present work are substantially the Essay on the *Locality of the Churches of Galatia*, for which the present writer obtained the Norrisian prize last year. That essay dealt only with the Destination of the Epistle to the Galatians, and not at all with its Date, which was outside the limits allowed by the subject as set by the examiners. It has seemed better now to present to the public a discussion of the Date of the Epistle along with the arguments on the Locality of the Churches to which it was addressed. Not that the two questions cannot be kept separate. On the contrary they are quite distinct, and an endeavour has been made to keep them so in the following pages.

But it seemed to the author that, as Professor Ramsay's championship of the South Galatian theory in opposition to the North Galatian theory, as held by Bishop Lightfoot, has been coupled, somewhat to the confusion of the two things, with a new dating of the Galatian Epistle, it was desirable for anyone who

accepted the South Galatian theory to have his ideas clear as to any possible bearing such acceptance might have on the Date of the Epistle. The following pages are intended to give the writer's reasons why he agrees with Professor Ramsay that the Epistle to the Galatians was addressed to the Churches of South Galatia, and why, at the same time, he cannot agree with the Professor in his attempt to correct the chronological sequence of the second Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistle to the Galatians, and that to the Romans as given by Lightfoot. There is no difficulty, as these pages shew, in placing the Epistle to the Galatians in point of time where Lightfoot placed it, and at the same time agreeing with Professor Ramsay as to its Destination.

It is not easy to state exactly the extent to which originality may be claimed for this essay. In a sense the whole essay is original, if by originality is here understood an independent examination of the bearing of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Galatians on the two problems before us. But nothing is original, in so far as every thought is evolved from some previous thought suggested by other writers. The author has not hesitated to avail himself of the investigations of others, and in particular he owes much, chiefly in regard to his treatment of the question of the Locality of the Churches of Galatia, to Professor W. M. Ramsay, of whose two books—

The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170, and St. Paul, the Traveller and the Roman Citizen—he has made constant use. If he has not made equal use of those two other works, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* and *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, it is not because he is indifferent to their value. But all reasoning respecting the development of Christianity in Asia Minor, based on the exploration of the country, is purposely avoided in this essay. The special aim of what is here written is to examine the bearing of the Acts and the Galatian Epistle on the two problems.

The present writer regards such evidence as is afforded by Professor Ramsay's archæological discoveries as corroborative rather than as primary. And he felt moreover that a detailed examination of the use of Γαλατικός in Acts xvi. 6 and xviii. 23. had not yet been made by any writer, and that until some such work was done, it would be impossible to reach any final conclusions. The moment for the opening out of the whole question was opportune, for Professor Ramsay's historical knowledge of Asia Minor had suggested a new interpretation of the compound epithet Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν in Acts xvi. 6. This interpretation has been of the very greatest value in these pages.

The weakness of Professor Ramsay's argument for the South Galatian theory was in his treatment of the participial (κωλυθέντες) clause in Acts xvi. 6. At one stage in his work *St. Paul the Traveller* he

seems to come dangerously near to making a full stop in sense after *διήλθον τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, as for instance on page 178, in his rendering of the first few verses of the sixteenth chapter. But at a later point (p. 212) he comes nearer to a grammatical appreciation of the participle. At the same time one cannot but feel that the difficulty remains a difficulty even after reading his explanations. If in the following pages any success has attended the writer's efforts to overcome this difficulty, he will feel that he has not written to no purpose. He thinks, and hopes he may convince others, that the predicative interpretation of the participle is the right one. The part of the essay treating of this point has been largely re-written since the Norrisian prize was awarded, and to the writer of it the case seems even stronger than when he first proposed it.

There is further added to the argument for the South Galatian theory, which was given in the Norrisian essay, a new chapter on the bearing of Acts xx. 4 on the theory.

For the part of this essay dealing with the Date of the Galatian Epistle acknowledgment must be made of obligations to Bishop Lightfoot's essay on the subject in his Commentary. The argument he there develops seems, with but few necessary alterations, to hold quite as well for the dating of the Epistle if it be addressed to South Galatians as if it be for Northern Galatia.

Let the οὕτως ταχέως of i. 6, and the τὸ πρότερον of iv. 13 be rightly interpreted, and we have a dating of the Epistle perfectly consistent with the theory of its South Galatian Destination.

The present writer cannot but express his regret that Professor Ramsay should have allowed some of his arguments for dating the Epistle from Antioch ever to have been printed without a more exact comparison of them with Bishop Lightfoot's already existing arguments for assigning to the Galatian Epistle a date later than that of the second Epistle to the Corinthians. In the seventh chapter of this essay some of Professor Ramsay's arguments have been examined. It is to be feared lest the weakness of the Professor's case, in regard to the Date of the Epistle, may delay a general acceptance of his theory as to its Destination.

It is unfortunate, too, that Professor Ramsay has not been content to establish one point at a time instead of trying to prove three things together. There are three points he is insisting on :

- (1) The South Galatian theory.
- (2) The Antiochene Dating of the Galatian Epistle.
- (3) The identification of the visit of Gal. ii. with the earlier of the two visits in the Acts.

But these are three separate questions, requiring separate treatment. It is by his failure to discriminate these questions that Professor Ramsay alienates many whom he would wish to convince.

In conclusion, the author of this work begs the indulgence of his readers. It is his first public venture in Biblical criticism, and he cannot, therefore, hope to have always succeeded in expressing himself as clearly as he may hope to do in later work, if he be permitted to contribute more in this field. He has honestly tried to see both sides of each question he has attempted to treat of, and if his conclusions are wrong it is not because they are hasty.

It is hoped that these pages are fairly free from misprints. If this is so, no small share of the credit is due to the Rev. W. L. E. Parsons, Lecturer in Theology at Selwyn College, who has kindly read over all the proof sheets.

TRINITY COLLEGE,
CAMBRIDGE,

Easter, 1899.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY

IN the New Testament there is an Epistle, generally recognised as Pauline, addressed to the "Churches of Galatia" (ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῆς Γαλατίας). The churches of Galatia, presumably the same, are mentioned by St. Paul in 1 Cor. xvi. 1. The purpose of this Essay is to help to decide *first*, Where these churches were, and *secondly*, the Date at which the Epistle was written to them.

It will be well to lay it down at once that these are two distinct problems, and they must be treated separately. Illogical reasoning and argument in a circle are the inevitable result of trying to decide two unknown points at the same time. And I cannot but think that no final solution of the questions of the Destination and Date of the Epistle to the Galatians will be found, except by deciding one without any reference to the other. It does not, of course, matter which of the two questions we take for independent consideration. We may determine the Date of the Epistle without reference to its Destination, and use it when found to determine the Destination. Or

we may, if we prefer it, determine first the Destination independently of any special theory of its Date, and afterwards use, if we wish, what we have so determined, to come at the Date. We shall here adopt the latter alternative. We shall ignore entirely for the present the Date, and of course also the place of origin of the Epistle, and try by a method of sound argument to answer the question: Where were the churches of Galatia?

Now there are two conflicting theories respecting their locality. The one, having the weighty support of Bishop Lightfoot, places them in Galatia proper, that is, the district of Asia Minor occupied by the Gauls in the fourth pre-Christian century. This is conveniently called the *North Galatian theory*. The other theory, for a long time little held in this country, has of late found an able champion in Professor W. M. Ramsay. It is that the churches addressed in Gal. i. 2 and mentioned in 1 Cor. xvi. 1 were not in Galatia proper, but were the churches founded by St. Paul in his *first* missionary journey at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe; these cities being all situated in what was, at the time the Epistle was written, the *Roman Province of Galatia*. This, with Professor Ramsay, we will call the *South Galatian theory*. According to it, St. Paul uses Galatia in a political, rather than in an ethnological sense. Which of the two theories is likely to be the correct one we will attempt to discover.

The question is purely a critical one. No doctrine of the faith is affected by either answer we may give. It is not the genuineness of the Epistle which is

disputed but only its destination. It will not be difficult then, as in purely theological questions it often is, to lay aside prejudice and to approach the subject dispassionately.

Every one who has studied the question of the locality of the churches of Galatia must recognise that some of Professor Ramsay's arguments advanced in *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, and *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen* are weighty and strong; and they are the stronger coming, as they do, from one whose acquaintance with Asia Minor in life and history is so close. The present writer feels the force of these arguments to be so great that he cannot but think that, were Bishop Lightfoot now living, he would in the light of them have to re-write his essay on the "Churches of Galatia" in his Commentary on the Galatian Epistle, or, at any rate, that he would have to append a fuller note in opposition to the South Galatian theory than that which appears in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians.¹ This is of course only a matter of opinion. The expression of it on the part of the writer may, however, serve to emphasise the important fact that Bishop Lightfoot's advocacy of the North Galatian theory was in opposition to Renan and not to Ramsay.

It is not proposed in this essay to bring forward a number of disconnected arguments for and against each theory. Such a method of proceeding would be both tedious and unsatisfactory. The question must be considered *ab initio*, on a definite plan, and

¹ Pp. 24-28 of that work (6th edition).

the argument must be kept clear, and unconfused by side issues.

It goes without saying that it is nothing to the purpose that St. Peter uses *Galatia* in its provincial sense.¹ We have to decide in what sense St. Paul uses the word. It is recognised now by both sides in the Galatian controversy that the word Galatia was used as the name of a whole *province* extending far beyond the *country* of Galatia, as well as in its limited sense; so St. Paul may have used the word in one way, St. Peter in another way.

The churches of Galatia addressed by St. Paul were of his own foundation. He had visited them certainly once and probably more than once before he wrote his Epistle.² It is only natural then to try to discover these churches in the pages of the Acts of the Apostles. Turning to the Acts we find that the word Γαλατία is nowhere used, though in two passages the adjective Γαλατικός is found (Acts xvi. 6; xviii. 23). These two passages must be carefully considered, for they are differently interpreted by the advocates of the two theories. What we have to decide from them first of all is whether St.

¹ 1 Peter i. 1. This is not, I believe, disputed. Hort says of this verse, "The five names coincide precisely with the five names that make up the titles of the four provinces [four because Bithynia and Pontus formed one province] of the Roman empire into which Asia Minor, the southern littoral eventually excepted, was divided in and after the reign of Tiberius; and it would need strong positive evidence to refute the consequent presumption that the territory denoted by the list in the Epistle was the territory of these four Roman provinces." Hort, *1 Peter*, p. 157. See also Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 19 footnote (7th ed.).

² Galatians iv. 13. There is a difference of opinion as to the meaning of τὸ πρότερον here. See Lightfoot's note *in loc.* The question is discussed in chapter v. of this essay.

Paul ever visited North Galatia, and if he did, whether he founded churches there. And while we are attempting to decide this point, it will be best to keep the issue unconfused by unnecessary appeals to the Galatian Epistle. The question we are trying to answer is: Does the narrative of *the Acts* seem to record a visit to North Galatia? One historical notice only from the Epistle shall be allowed to intrude itself, namely, that it was on account of an infirmity of the flesh that St. Paul preached to the Galatians formerly *or* on the former occasion or visit (οἶδατε δὲ ὅτι δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον, Gal. iv. 13). To discuss fully the bearing of Acts xvi. 6 without allowing this statement from the Epistle its proper place, would be impossible, and unfair certainly to advocates of the North Galatian theory. Fortunately there is no doubt as to the literal meaning of the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός, for this is conceded by both sides.¹ No confusion then need arise by understanding that it was illness or bodily weakness which first brought or detained the Apostle among those to whom the Epistle to the Galatians is addressed.

All other references to the Epistle will be rigidly excluded until we have exhaustively treated of the two passages in the Acts. Our desire is to avoid arguing in a circle. That is why it is necessary

¹Lightfoot in his note on the verse remarks that of the Greek fathers, Chrysostom, Theodoret and Theodore of Mopsuestia slur over the preposition, interpreting the passage in a way more consonant with the sense ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ. But if the right meaning be given to διὰ as is now done, there can be no doubt as to the literal sense of the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός. Lightfoot and Ramsay are certainly agreed on this point.

to make clear at the outset what our method of procedure is to be.

Further, in examining the first of the two passages in *the Acts*, the second had better be excluded. There is no great difficulty in accommodating Acts xviii. 23 to either interpretation that may be given to Acts xvi. 6.

After we have examined Acts xvi. 6 ff. we shall do well to consider in connection with our results the passage in chapter xviii., where *Γαλατικός* occurs. And then we will test briefly the consistency of our conclusions with the contents of the Epistle to the Galatians. Any other considerations derived from other sources can then find a place.

CHAPTER II.

THE MEANING OF Γαλατικός IN ACTS XVI. 6, WHEN διελθόντες IS READ.

WE read in Acts xiii. and xiv. of the first preaching of the Gospel in the cities of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe. When Paul and Barnabas returned from their missionary journey they left a church in each of these cities, and elders in every church (Acts xiv. 23). Now these four cities were all contained within the limits of the great Roman province of Galatia,¹ and there would be no impropriety in calling the Christian communities, duly organised in them, as we gather from the Acts they were, "Churches of Galatia." That St. Paul does so address them is the contention of the supporters of the South Galatian theory. But no hint is given by the author of the Acts in the two chapters recording the founding of these churches that the cities were Galatian, and the epithet Γαλατικός does not appear in the narrative until later (Acts xvi. 6). When it does appear, there is some doubt as to its application, and it is here that

¹ This is conceded by those who hold the North Galatian theory. See Lightfoot, *Galatians*, p. 18 (7th edition).

the advocates of the two conflicting theories respecting the locality of "the churches of Galatia" find themselves opposed. It becomes necessary then at once to examine the use of the term Γαλατικός in the first of the two passages where it occurs, and this we must do at some length.

The text of Acts xvi. 6, 7, 8 according to Westcott and Hort runs thus: Διήλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἐλθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπείραζον εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν πορευθῆναι καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ· παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν κατέβησαν εἰς Τρωάδα.

The translation as given by the Revised Version, whose text is in this particular case in agreement with that of Westcott and Hort, is this: "And they went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia; and when they were come over against Mysia, they assayed to go into Bithynia; and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas."

A few remarks may here be made in criticism of this rendering.

The translation differs from that of the Authorised Version in certain particulars, but the changes are mainly due to a difference of reading in the Greek text. There is certainly one correction of what was before a mistranslation, κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν being now rendered *over against Mysia* instead of *to Mysia* as before. But the differences in the text are the cause

of the more important changes in the translation. Thus διῆλθον is substituted for διελθόντες, so introducing an extra principal sentence which the Revisers have thought to necessitate a retrospective rendering of the participial clause κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλήσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ. Further, τὴν is omitted before Γαλατικὴν χώραν. This omission and the change of διελθόντες into διῆλθον have a preponderance of authority in their favour.¹

Deferring discussion on any change in the interpretation of the passage that the reading διῆλθον may require, we may reasonably express regret that the Revisers have not rendered τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν by a phrase more free from ambiguity than *the region of Phrygia and Galatia*. This might stand for τὴν Φρυγίαν χώραν καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν or for τὴν χώραν τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ τὴν Γαλατίαν; but neither of these is what St. Luke wrote. He speaks of a passing through the *Phrygo-Galatian* region. This translation alone is adequate, preserving as it does the adjectival form of both Φρυγίαν and Γαλατικὴν, and bringing out the force of the double epithet applied in the original to the one χώρα.

It is fortunate that Bishop Lightfoot and Professor Ramsay² are agreed as to this last point, but they disagree in their understanding of what χώρα is meant by τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν. Indeed it is on the interpretation of this expression that the solution

¹ W. and H. do not even mention the reading of the A. V.

² See Lightfoot's *Galatians*, p. 22, footnote; cf. Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 78.

of the problem of the locality of the churches of Galatia depends.

Lightfoot says:¹ "The form of the Greek expression implies that Phrygia and Galatia here are not to be regarded as separate districts. The country which was now evangelised might be called indifferently Phrygia or Galatia. It was in fact the land originally inhabited by Phrygians but subsequently occupied by Gauls: or so far as he travelled beyond the limits of the Gallic settlements, it was still in the neighbouring parts of Phrygia that he preached, which might fairly be included under one general expression."

The first explanation here given, for it must be noticed that we are invited to choose between two, is hardly satisfactory. For to speak of a country or district, which had once been part of Phrygia and then became Galatia, as Phrygo-Galatian is surely not quite natural. If St. Luke meant to say that St. Paul went through Galatia, that is Northern Galatia, why did he not say τὴν Γαλατίαν? A suggestion of Phrygia seems quite out of place. Have we any reason to suppose that the land occupied by the Gauls was, after it became Galatia, known also as Phrygia?

Again there is a serious objection to Lightfoot's alternative explanation, though it seems better than the first. One would hardly call a district Phrygo-Galatian, if only *part* of it were Phrygian, and *part* Galatian. The compound epithet would be more appropriate were the district *all of it* both Phrygian and Galatian.

Now Professor Ramsay contends that there was such

¹ *Galatians*, p. 22.

a district.¹ Phrygia was partly in the Roman province of Asia and partly in that of Galatia.² That part of Phrygia, then, which belonged to Galatia, or, to put it the other way, that part of the Province of Galatia which ethnologically was Phrygia, could most appropriately be called Phrygo-Galatian. The word *χώρα* may, as Professor Ramsay thinks it is, or may not be used as a technical equivalent of *regio*. That is a point we need not discuss and we can afford to leave the question open. On *à priori* grounds, that is apart from the context, the *Phrygo-Galatian χώρα* seems more likely to mean what Professor Ramsay says it means, than what Bishop Lightfoot suggests it may mean.

But *à priori* conclusions are sometimes precarious. We must therefore take up the context and examine the appropriateness of the different interpretations. What we have really to determine is whether the *Phrygo-Galatian region* is new or old ground to St. Paul. According to Bishop Lightfoot it is new ground; according to Professor Ramsay it is ground already covered in the *first* missionary journey when Barnabas was St. Paul's companion. Our inquiry then is directed to this: Does the context suggest old or new ground? Unfortunately we are not absolutely sure what the context is, for there is the alternative reading *διελθόντες*, and when we have decided between *διήλθον* and *διελθόντες* there is still difference of opinion as to the relation of the participial clause *κωλυθέντες κ.τ.λ.*

¹ *Church in the Roman Empire* and *St. Paul the Traveller*.

² See maps in *St. Paul the Traveller* and *Church in the Roman Empire*.

to what has gone before. It will be well then first to examine the whole paragraph in its *general* sense. What effect, we will ask, is produced on the mind by reading Acts xvi. 6-10? What is the *emphasis* of the paragraph? Here is Bishop Lightfoot's answer:¹

"This portion of St. Luke's narrative is emphasised not by any artifice of the writer, but by the progress of the incidents themselves, which all converge to one point. St. Paul having passed through the country of Phrygia and Galatia is driven forward under the divine guidance and in spite of his own impulses towards the shores of the Hellespont. Attempting to diverge on either side, he is checked and kept in the direct path. He first looks wistfully towards the country on his left, wishing to preach the Gospel in the populous district of Proconsular Asia. 'The Holy Spirit forbids him' to do so. He next turns his steps towards Bithynia situated on his right, doubtless with the same purpose. This attempt is as futile as the former. 'The Spirit of Jesus will not permit it.' Thus hemmed in on either side, he has no choice but to go forward, and so he arrives on the coast of the *Ægean*. Here at length the meaning of those strange hindrances, which had thwarted his energetic purpose, became apparent. God's providence has destined him for a nobler mission-field. While at Troas gazing on the sight of the opposite shores of Europe, he receives an intimation which decides him. He sees a vision in the night. A man of Macedonia stands before him and entreats him: 'Come over and help us.' He considers this as an indication of the will of God, and

¹ *Biblical Essays*, p. 237.

in obedience thereto he crosses the narrow sea which separates Asia from Europe. *In this way St. Luke forces upon our notice the importance of this visit to Macedonia.*"

The italics are the present writer's. It will be understood that he does not quote this passage in full because he adopts all its statements in detail, but because the whole passage recognises that the emphasis of Acts xvi. 6-10 is on the visit to Macedonia. And Professor Ramsay acknowledges no less than Lightfoot that the stress lies here. He says:¹ "It is not easy to account on strictly historical grounds for the emphasis laid on the passage to Macedonia. Lightfoot, in his fine essay on "the Churches of Macedonia," recognises with his usual insight that it is necessary to acknowledge and to explain that emphasis; but his attempts cannot be called successful."

Here we have a distinct point of agreement which extends further to a readiness on the part of both the Bishop and the Professor to adopt the reading of the inferior MSS., viz. διελθόντες for the διήλθον of the great MSS.² This reading is thought to heighten the effect of the paragraph which they both describe, and to have the advantage over διήλθον on the ground of transcriptional probability. The reading διήλθον Lightfoot says, "is open to suspicion as an attempt to simplify the grammar of a sentence rendered awkward by the accumulation of participles."³

¹ *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 198, 199.

² *Biblical Essays*, p. 237 note; *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 195 ff., διήλθον is read by Σ ABCDE.

³ *Biblical Essays*, p. 237.

We must not of course summarily dismiss the reading *διήλθον* in favour of the participle.¹ Our only honest course is to inquire into the meaning of v. 6 with each reading in turn; the meaning, that is, so far as it affects the solution of the problem of the locality of the churches of Galatia.

Let us then first suppose that *διελθόντες* is what St. Luke wrote. We are then confronted by three participial clauses before we reach the finite verb *ἐπείραζον* (*εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν πορευθῆναι*). The first two of these clauses are linked together by no copula, so that there arises an uncertainty as to the dependence of the second on the first. Two possible translations of the passage suggest themselves:

(A) *And having passed through the Phrygo-Galatian region, because they were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia, and having come over against Mysia they were assaying to go into Bithynia, etc.*

(B) *And having passed through the Phrygo-Galatian region, (and)² having been forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia, and having come over against Mysia they were assaying to go into Bithynia, etc.*

In (A) the participial clause is retrospective, and in (B) it is not. It is proposed now to show that the second rendering is likely to be correct.

And logic requires that we should now admit no

¹ For our own part we see no reason why *διελθόντες* may not have been substituted for *διήλθον* instead of the reverse. Our reasons will appear later. See chapter iii.

² We can of course do without the copula if we render "And being forbidden by the Holy Ghost after they had passed through the Phrygo-Galatian region to speak the word in Asia, etc."

argument in favour of (B) if such argument is based on any *special interpretation* of the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*. It is true that the present writer thinks (B) better than (A) on the ground that (B) gives a reasonable interpretation of this disputed phrase, more reasonable, that is, than (A) can give. But were he to base his preference for (B) on this, he would be guilty of unfairness, and the argument would be nothing advanced. He has already said which interpretation of *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* he would prefer on *à priori* grounds. The point now is: How far does such interpretation compare with others in harmonising with the context? Of course the writer's preferred interpretation will suit the context admirably and better than any other, if the context be taken to be (B) rather than (A), on the ground that (B) gives the very interpretation to the disputed phrase he wishes it to have! Unless then (B) is to be preferred to (A) on other grounds we are no nearer to the solution of the original problem.

But this exclusion of a special interpretation of the Phrygo-Galatian region does not require that we should write this phrase an absolutely unknown *x*. We must remember that the special interpretations of the phrase, though they are opposed one to the other, may yet have something in common which it is permissible to give the phrase. This reservation will be understood shortly.

We propose now to argue that (B) is to be preferred to (A) on these grounds:

1. Because the rendering (B) is in accordance with St. Luke's general use of two participles without a

copula, and, in particular, that it can be paralleled by the rendering of another passage similar to this one, and about which there is no ambiguity.

2. Because, had (A) been what St. Luke meant, it is likely he would have expressed it differently.

3. Because the emphasis which the whole passage is admittedly designed to express, is better expressed by (B) than by (A).

4. Because (B) takes account of verbal distinctions in the passage which are confused by (A).

These four propositions must now be justified.

1. A long quotation has already been given from Bishop Lightfoot's *Biblical Essays*, which makes it clear that he recognised that there is no special emphasis laid on the passing through the Phrygo-Galatian region; and obviously this fact is even less emphasised if *διελθόντες* be read according to our present hypothesis, instead of *διήλθον*. Can we then find another passage in the Acts, in which the writer hurries over ground to give emphasis to some point he is working for, to reach some place where he would pause? Such a passage, if it could be found, should by preference be contained in that part of his narrative which deals with the missionary journeys of St. Paul. Here is what we want:

Acts xviii. 22, 23. καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς Καισαρίαν, ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ ἐξῆλθεν, διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, στήριζων πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς. This passage is chosen for its first sentence only. The meaning of

Γαλατικός in the latter verse has nothing to do with our present purpose. This will be considered in chapter iv.

The interest of the *third* missionary journey, which is here entered upon, centres in Ephesus. It is thither St. Luke is hastening us. He sums up very briefly the movements of the Apostle between his second journey and the third, and his movements on the third journey until he has reached Ephesus. Now verse 22, above quoted, resembles xvi. 6, 7, in the use of three participles, which are related one to another similarly in the two passages. There is no copula to link the second with the first in either case.

But besides this particular case where we have three participles, there are several instances in the Acts of *two* participles being used without any copula, and in each case, the second of the two, so far from explaining the first, follows it in point of time, or adds some simultaneous action to that expressed by the first. In no case, that is, is the second participle retrospective. Thus: ὁ δὲ Παῦλος ἔτι προσμείνας ἡμέρας ἱκανῶς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποταξάμενος ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν (Acts xviii. 18a).

“And Paul, having tarried after this many days, took his leave of the brethren and sailed thence into Syria.”

It will be noticed that this particular verse occurs not many lines before the one with the triple participle already quoted. It may be said to belong to the same paragraph, a paragraph which is characterised by a summary treatment of its subject.

Again in xxvii. 13, we have: [ὑποπνέυσαντος δὲ νότου] δόξαντες τῆς προθέσεως κεκρατηκέναι ἄραντες ἄσπον παρελέγοντο τὴν Κρήτην.

“Supposing they had obtained their purpose, they weighed anchor and sailed along Crete, close in shore.”

A very good instance and one that occurs in a passage characterised by some excitement is to be found in xiv. 14. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀπόστολοι Βαρνάβας καὶ Παῦλος, διαρρήξαντες τὰ ἱμάτια ἑαυτῶν ἐξεπήδησαν εἰς τὸν ὄχλον, κράζοντες καὶ λέγοντες κ.τ.λ.

“And when the Apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard of it, they rent their garments and sprang forth among the multitude, etc.”

And a quieter instance occurs in xx. 1. μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν θόρυβον μεταπεμφάμενος ὁ Παῦλος τοὺς μαθητὰς καὶ παρακαλέσας ἀσπασάμενος ἐξῆλθεν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Μακεδονίαν.

“And after the uproar was ceased, Paul having sent for the disciples and exhorted them, took leave of them and departed for to go into Macedonia.”

Lastly xviii. 23, quoted already, has διερχόμενος and στηρίζων not coupled together except by the obvious sense of the verse. στηρίζων, it is true, does not express an action following on that expressed by διερχόμενος in point of time; rather, the two actions are simultaneous; yet the second participle is in no sense retrospective.

On the other hand, is there a single instance where two participles are used without a copula, the second being intended in explanation of the first?

2. Had St. Luke meant (A) he would have expressed himself differently. In support of this state-

ment witness: *κειράμενος ἐν Κενχρεαῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἶχεν γὰρ εὐχὴν.* (xviii. 18). The expression of this leads one to think that we should have had for xvi. 6, *διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, ἐκώλυθησαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, ἔλθοντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπείραζον κ.τ.λ.*

We may notice that the words quoted above from xviii. 18, in which an explanation of the conduct expressed by the participial clause *κειράμενος ἐν Κενχρεαῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν* is given by means of the parenthetical *εἶχεν γὰρ εὐχὴν*, and not by another participial clause such as *ἔχων εὐχὴν*, form the latter part of a verse of which the former part has been already quoted to illustrate the use of two participles not connected. The difference of expression in the *one* verse is so striking that it may be quoted in full: *ὁ δὲ Παῦλος, ἔτι προσμείνας ἡμέρας ἱκανὰς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἀποταξάμενος ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν...κειράμενος ἐν Κενχρεαῖς τὴν κεφαλὴν, εἶχεν γὰρ εὐχὴν.*

3. Next, (B) must be preferred to (A) on the ground that it better suits what is recognised to be the main emphasis of the passage. What that emphasis is, Lightfoot and Ramsay are agreed. It is to Macedonia that St. Luke hurries us. The Apostle's course was divinely ordered, and so clearly marked at each stage that he could not fail in the sequel to observe how providential all had been. St. Luke realises this, and would have his readers realise how divinely ordered were all the circumstances which led the Apostle on from the scenes of his first missionary labour to a new sphere; hurrying him

through Asia (or perhaps past it),¹ forbidding him to preach there, checking his intentions of entering Bithynia, directing him westward rather than northward, and, when his face was turned towards the west, urging him not to stay in Mysia, but to continue without delay to the sea, which a vision directed him to cross.

This emphasis seems to be better maintained by making the three participles express the sequence of events in rapid succession rather than that one of the participial clauses should make us pause to look back. Had we been meant to look back some more sure way of inviting us to do so would have been found.

4. Lastly, (B) takes account of verbal distinctions in the passage which are confused by (A). For according to (A) the prohibition of the Spirit against preaching the word in Asia is given as the cause of passing through the Phrygo-Galatian region. In this case then St. Paul and his company did not enter Asia at all. This of course follows whatever be meant by *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*; for without giving any *special* interpretation to the phrase, which we are precluded from doing (p. 15), we are yet permitted to assume that it was no part of Asia. So then if St. Luke says that the missionary band passed through the Phrygo-Galatian region because they were forbidden to speak the word in Asia, it is plain that the sense of the statement is that they went through some district *not* Asia because they

¹ It would be unfair to intrude any South Galatian conclusion, until we have established it. That is why this bracket is inserted.

were forbidden to speak the word in Asia. In this case the Holy Ghost's prohibition against preaching in Asia, is taken by St. Paul and his companions to mean that they ought not to enter Asia at all. No real distinction is made between *speaking the word in* and *entering* Asia. That is to say, the distinction which is marked in the narrative between the prohibition in regard to Asia and Bithynia respectively—for, while *speaking the word* only is forbidden in Asia, they may not *enter* Bithynia at all—is wholly disregarded if we adopt (A).

On the other hand (B) preserves the distinction. For it does not make the prohibition imposed by the Holy Ghost a reason for their going through the Phrygo-Galatian region. But the prohibition, at least so far as obedience to it on their part is concerned, followed the passage through the *Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*. That is to say, while the prohibition *may* have become known to them as they were passing through this region, it only affected their conduct *after* the region was passed. And the way in which it affected their movements was that they abstained from preaching in Asia but not from entering it. The sense of the paragraph is in this case :

After they had passed through the Phrygo-Galatian¹ region they were forbidden to speak the word in Asia and so had to go forward without preaching, (*or* having been forbidden to speak the word in Asia, they had to go forward without preaching,) which they did

¹ The participial *κωλυθέντες* may as suggested before be retained in translation if we render : *And being forbidden by the Holy Ghost after they had gone through the Phrygo-Galatian region to speak the word in Asia, etc. and having come over against Mysia they were, etc.*

until they came over against Mysia. Here they were assaying to journey to Bithynia, but the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia (where they could not preach, for it was part of Asia in which speaking the word was forbidden), they came to Troas.

Exception may be taken to the rendering *forbidden* for κωλυθέντες, which might mean *hindered*. The nature of this prohibition will be considered later. The word might mean *hindered*, and in this case the hindrance must be understood to hold good when the travellers came over against Mysia. Otherwise there is no accounting for their conduct in regard to Mysia. The narrative clearly implies that they did not go through Mysia for *preaching*, which would have been expressed by διελθόντες; for it says that they passed it by, that is, left it out, as we say.¹

This consideration that the prohibition against speaking the word in Asia seems to have held good when the travellers were κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν, and that yet it did not deter them from crossing Mysia, which was itself part of Asia,² strengthens our impression that there was a real distinction between the Spirit's prohibition in regard to Asia and Bithynia respectively. If the distinction were not intended, this fourth

¹ *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 196, "neglecting Mysia." "Leaving out" seems better, but only because there is a suggestion of moral delinquency in neglect. "Passing by" is quite good, though ambiguous.

² Dean Farrar makes Asia = Lydia and not the whole of proconsular Asia. I have assumed with Lightfoot, Ramsay, Conybeare and Howson, etc., that proconsular Asia is meant. See Farrar's *Life and Work of St. Paul*, vol. i., p. 464. I have returned to this point at the end of chapter iii.

reason for preferring (B) to (A) would be non-existent. But our argument is that it is real, and that (B) preserves it while (A) ignores it.

We claim now to have made good our proposition that if *διελθόντες* be the correct reading, the clause *κωλυθέντες κ.τ.λ.* is not retrospective. It remains then to discover what is meant by the *Phrygo-Galatian region*: that is, we have to decide between one of Lightfoot's two suggested interpretations, and the one that Professor Ramsay offers.

There cannot be the least doubt that Professor Ramsay's explanation gives excellent sense. According to it the clause *διελθόντες τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* sums up the journey *over the old ground* after Lystra was left and Iconium reached. It is remarkable that in his account of the first missionary journey, St. Luke (Acts xiii. 49) speaks of the spread of the word throughout all the region about Antioch (*διεφέρετο δὲ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου δι' ὅλης τῆς χώρας*). This *χώρα*, called Phrygo-Galatian in xvi. 6, would include Iconium and Antioch, which places, it is to be noticed, have not been specially mentioned in the opening verses of chapter xvi., except in an allusion to the *brethren in Iconium*, in connection with the choice of Timothy. When then St. Luke wrote *διελθόντες τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* he might quite well mean: When they had completed their journey over the old ground. This makes good sense of xvi. 6 and connects it properly with what has gone before.

On the other hand, what of Lightfoot's interpretations? According to both of these, the *Phrygo-Galatian region* was new ground, including, in either case, some part of Galatia proper. Now it is acknowledged by supporters of the *North Galatian theory* that this was an unlikely route to take,¹ and one that we should not have expected to be taken unless there were some special reason. No reason is given in the Acts; for we have decided that the *κωλυθέντες* clause is not retrospective. A reason may be found in the words of Gal. iv. 13; and it is suggested that St. Paul went into Galatia on account of illness. But we may ask whether any reason can be assigned why a sick or weak man should diverge from his natural route to go to an out-of-the-way and semi-barbarous region. That St. Paul having once gone to North Galatia might be *detained* there by sickness, it is reasonable enough to believe; but that he should ever go there first of all because of a bodily ailment or weakness is highly improbable.

For the present then we are impelled to the conclusion that on the hypothesis that *διελθόντες* is what St. Luke wrote, this passage does not give any foundation for the theory that St. Paul visited North Galatia on his second missionary journey.

We next inquire into the force of the reading *διήλθον*.

¹ See Dean Farrar in footnote of pages given above.

CHAPTER III.

THE MEANING OF Γαλατικός IN ACTS XVI. 6 WHEN διήλθον IS READ.

OUR hypothesis now is that διήλθον is what St. Luke wrote, and our first concern is to try to determine the relation of the participial clause κωλυθέντες κ.τ.λ. to the context. We want to decide whether it is retrospective or not; whether or not it gives the reason why the travellers passed through the Phrygo-Galatian region.

Now it will be understood at once by those who have followed the argument given above in favour of the non-retrospective character of the κωλυθέντες clause when διελθόντες was taken to be the true reading, that, of the four reasons there given for refusing to consider the participle to be retrospective, the first two do not apply now. These depend for their cogency entirely on the reading διελθόντες, which is now excluded. On the other hand, the other two reasons there given hold now as then. That is to say, if grammar will permit of the non-retrospective interpretation of the κωλυθέντες clause, such interpretation is to be preferred on the ground that it preserves the distinction between the

prohibitions of the Spirit in regard to Asia and Bithynia respectively, and that it is congenial to the main tenor of the passage. It becomes necessary now to investigate this point of grammar, and this must be done with a due regard for St. Luke's general usage.

That, as a matter of grammar, *κωλυθέντες* may be taken retrospectively cannot be denied. It is true that St. Luke's *general* habit is to place his participial clauses before the finite verb of their sentence, when such clauses express an action preceding in point of time that which the finite verb is intended to express, but such usage is certainly not without exception, as witness Acts xv. 40, 41. Παῦλος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος Σίλαν ἐξῆλθεν παραδοθεὶς τῇ χάριτι τοῦ κυρίου ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν. In this sentence one naturally supposes that παραδοθεὶς κ.τ.λ. precedes in point of time St. Paul's going forth, though, it is to be noticed, that it is in no way suggested that the commendation of him to the grace of the Lord on the part of the brethren was the *cause* of his going forth. We might even paraphrase and say that he went forth with the blessing of the brethren upon him. Further, one cannot but think that had ἐπιλεξάμενος been absent from the sentence, παραδοθεὶς κ.τ.λ. would have preceded ἐξῆλθεν.¹

At the same time it must be acknowledged that the participle is used after the finite verb even when no other participle has preceded it in the sentence, and that too retrospectively. An example is to be found in Acts xii. 25: Βαρνάβας δὲ καὶ Σαῦλος ὑπέστρεψαν ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ πληρώσαντες τὴν διακονίαν, συναπαλαβόντες Ἰωάννην τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Μάρκον.

¹ Compare xiii. 4,

If we thus read ἐξ before Ἱερουσαλήμ there can be no doubt that the fulfilment of the διακονία expressed by πληρώσαντες κ.τ.λ. precedes in point of time the return expressed by the finite verb ὑπέστρεψαν. It might even be taken as the cause of the return. The clause introduced by συνπαραλαβόντες would seem rather to add a new fact to the return than to express an action preceding it. If εἰς be read for ἐξ it is not so clear that πληρώσαντες is retrospective, but it is unnecessary to discuss this. It is likely that Hort's suggestion is correct and that the real reading is τὴν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ πληρώσαντες διακονίαν.

In xxiv. 22 we have an example of a retrospective participial clause about which there can be no doubt. ἀνεβάλετο δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Φῆλιξ, ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ, εἴπας κ.τ.λ. Here the more accurate knowledge that Felix had is clearly given as the reason for his action as expressed by ἀνεβάλετο which has in the order of the sentence preceded the participial clause. At the same time it is doubtful whether εἰδὼς would have followed the finite verb if ὁ Φῆλιξ had not done so too.

We need not now give other instances. They are not numerous in comparison with participial clauses preceding the verb in the sentence, but we have enough to go on to show that the κωλυθέντες clause of xvi. 6 may quite well, as a matter of grammar, and in accordance with St. Luke's occasional usage, be retrospective. Taking it as such we may render thus:

And they passed through the Phrygo-Galatian region because they were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak

the word in Asia, and when they came over against Mysia they were assaying to go into Bithynia, etc., etc.

We have arrived at this rendering on purely grammatical grounds, as a possibility but by no means a certainty. It becomes necessary now to examine the sense of the passage. What we want to come at is the meaning of the *Phrygo-Galatian region*. On our present hypothesis of the retrospective force of *καλυθέντες* this region was entered by St. Paul and his companions because they might not preach the word in Asia. This being so we cannot now argue that North Galatia was an unlikely region for the travellers to go to, as, however out-of-the-way it was, it was not entered upon without some reason. As one mission field was denied them they went to another. Moreover, as we have now a finite verb *διήλθον* in place of a participle *διελθόντες*, it is altogether more likely now than before that new ground may be intended by the *Phrygo-Galatian region*. We may then, for the purpose of the argument, allow that this region includes North Galatia.

Assuming then that Acts xvi. 6 does make possible a visit to Galatia proper, and that too for preaching, we must face the following question: Is the prohibition of the Spirit spoken of here the same as that which is referred to by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians as *an infirmity of the flesh*? That is to say, Was the hindrance to preaching in Asia due ultimately to sickness which St. Paul was brought to look upon as a direct guidance from heaven? Or was it independent of any such bodily hindrance? It will be well to clear the ground on this point.

Dean Farrar certainly seems to identify the two causes, what we may call the κώλυμα of Acts xvi. 6 and the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός of Gal. iv. 13.¹ It is not however clear whether such an identification is intended by all supporters of the North Galatian theory. The present writer cannot refrain from a suspicion that this school does find some sort of agreement between the statements of St. Luke and St. Paul in regard to the cause of the Apostle's first preaching to the Galatians. Whether this is so or not the confession of one of them makes an examination of this point necessary.

Let us then first suppose that St. Paul, on account of sickness or bodily infirmity, which was interpreted by the Spirit to be a reason for not preaching the word in Asia, turned aside into Galatia proper. What we have now to inquire is: Where did he turn aside? By what route did he reach Galatia? Did he visit Pisidian Antioch or not on his second missionary journey? If he did not visit Antioch we should naturally expect from St. Luke some explanation *why* he did not, seeing that the Apostle had proposed to visit the brethren in every city in which he had proclaimed the word of the Lord (Acts xv. 36). It is true that the breach with Barnabas occurred after this proposal had been made, yet when the two separated, Barnabas to go one way and Paul another, it would seem that Antioch would naturally fall to St. Paul. If then he did not go there now, we have a right to expect a reason from the historian. It may be said

¹ This seems clear from his footnote on p. 464 of *Life and Work of St. Paul*, vol. i.

that the *καλυθέντες* clause gives the reason. Be it so. St. Paul understood that he was not to preach the word in Asia, and so he did not go to Antioch, for then he would have had to go into the part of Phrygia which belonged to Asia, so he passed from Iconium to Galatia. We look at a map and we find that to get from Iconium to Pessinus, it would have been necessary for the travellers, if they went by the high road, to go to Philomelium first; and Philomelium was, according to Ramsay, in Phrygia Asiana.¹ That is to say, that Antioch, having been avoided because of the prohibition concerning Asia, St. Paul would yet go into Asia. This is clearly absurd.

Well then, it may be said, St. Paul did not go by the high road. "He would not be deterred by any rough or unfrequented paths." This last sentence is Lightfoot's. Be it so. St. Paul went over the mountains because he was forbidden to preach the word in Asia. He went over them, because when he got over them he would be where he might preach. We ask whether this is consistent with our present hypothesis that the prohibition was due to sickness. A sick man diverging from the main road to travel over rough and unfrequented paths! No; on the hypothesis that the *κάλυμμα* of Acts xvi. and the *ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός* were one in effect, there is nothing for it but to allow that St. Paul did go to Antioch.

Let us then follow his course from Antioch. The visit to Antioch itself is included in xvi. 4, 5, not, of course, in *διῆλθον τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, which is accounted for on our present hypothesis by

¹ See map, *Church in the Roman Empire*.

the retrospective *κωλυθέντες* clause. In v. 6 we enter on new ground. A new *χώρα*, which we are supposing to include North Galatia, is entered on, presumably *for preaching*, for Asia is forbidden them for preaching.

We take then this Phrygo-Galatian region to mean first the one and then the other of Lightfoot's suggestions. First let it stand for Galatia proper, once Phrygia now so no more. How did St. Paul get there from Antioch? He must have gone through the part of Phrygia which belonged to the province of Asia. He cannot have preached in this part, for the prohibition is upon him not to preach the word in Asia—the prohibition, that is, which the Holy Spirit interpreted his sickness to mean—so he hastens on to Pessinus, where he will no longer be in Asia, and so not forbidden to preach. Now it may be unhesitatingly said that this is most unlikely. So unlikely is it that a sick man should take so long a journey and into the "semi-barbarous regions of Phrygia and Galatia," that the present writer must refuse to follow him there.

So then we try Lightfoot's other suggestion, and interpret the Phrygo-Galatian region to be a district *part* of which was Phrygian and *part* Galatian. And it must be remembered that this is reached from Antioch where we have seen St. Paul must have gone. Which then was the Phrygian part of the *χώρα*? Not any part of Phrygia in Asia, for the prohibition against preaching the word in Asia holds good. And no other part of Phrygia will do.

Our conclusion then is, that even if *κωλυθέντες* be retrospective and the North Galatian theory be correct,

the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός is not the same as the prohibition of Acts xvi. 6.

We have not, in our consideration of the possible identity of the prohibition of the Spirit and the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός, allowed any *à priori* reasons to intrude themselves. But now that we have, on independent grounds, decided that they are not the same, it may be permissible to state emphatically that we had every reason *à priori* to expect that they would not prove to be the same. To the present writer it seems a misuse of language to speak of an illness as a prohibition of the Spirit. At any rate he does not think that St. Paul, and in consequence St. Luke, would have so regarded it. The Apostle was more likely to have looked upon it as a hindrance from Satan (1 Thess. ii. 18 with Lightfoot's note and 2 Cor. xii. 7). When then we find St. Luke speaking of the missionary band as κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, we prefer to give to the words a more literal and natural meaning, and to plead justification for so doing by a reference to Acts xxi. 11. The warning of Agabus delivered in the name of the Holy Spirit (τάδε λέγει τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον) would seem to suggest the manner in which the prohibition of the Holy Spirit against preaching the word in Asia was made known to St. Paul. And it is worthy of remark that Silas, who was St. Paul's companion on his second missionary journey, was, like Agabus, a προφήτης (Acts xv. 32).

It remains for us then, still allowing κωλυθέντες to be retrospective and still taking "the Phrygo-Galatian

region " to include North Galatia, to keep the prohibition distinct from the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός. The prohibition against preaching the word in Asia was one thing; the sickness or bodily infirmity which took the Apostle to Galatia, or detained him there, was another thing.

Here again the question confronts us: Did St. Paul visit Antioch on his journey, or did he diverge at Iconium? Let it be supposed first that he went off at Iconium, and that, because he was forbidden to preach the word in Asia. The inference is that he avoided Asia altogether and went over the mountains. There is no objection to this journey over an unfrequented path, now that we have distinguished the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός from the κώλυμα of the Holy Spirit. But if the Apostle avoided Asia because he might not preach there, he must have gone into the Phrygo-Galatian region *on purpose to preach*. How, we ask, is this to be reconciled with the statement of Gal. iv. 13, that it was on account of an infirmity of the flesh that he preached to the Galatians?

So then we must take the Apostle to Antioch. From there he enters the Phrygo-Galatian region because he might not preach the word in Asia. This region then cannot mean Phrygia *and* Galatia, because the Phrygian part was in Asia. It must then mean Northern Galatia, once Phrygia. There St. Paul goes with the deliberate intention of preaching because he might not speak the word in Asia. Needless to say, this cannot be reconciled with St. Paul's statement in Gal. iv. 13.

There is nothing for it then but to give up in-

interpreting the *κωλυθέντες* clause as retrospective. If it be so taken, the passage leads to no sense or fails in consistency with Gal. iv. 13. The retrospective interpretation of the participle certainly does not favour the South Galatian theory, but neither does it work in consistently with the opposite theory. Grammatically the construction is possible, but it will not bear the test of a close examination from a logical point of view.

It becomes necessary now to inquire whether any other interpretation of the *κωλυθέντες* clause is grammatically possible. Adhering strictly to the order of the Greek we get this rendering. "*And they went through the Phrygo-Galatian region forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia, etc.*" It will be noticed that this differs from the rendering of the Revised Version in an important particular; for it omits all use of auxiliary verbs to translate *κωλυθέντες*, which in the Revised Version is rendered *having been forbidden*. The sense of the statement as given in the Revised Version would remain the same if we were to invert the order of the participial clause and the finite verb in translating. Thus if we read, *And having been forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia, they went through the Phrygo-Galatian region*, we apprehend the same fact as if we read, *And they went through the Phrygo-Galatian region, having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia*. But if, as is now suggested, we omit the auxiliary words *having been*, and take the

sentence to be: "They went through the Phrygo-Galatian region forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia," we may understand the participial clause to be predicative, and the predication made by the finite verb *διήλθον* to be incomplete without it. The participle is grammatically in agreement with the subject of the finite verb, but logically it is an extension of the predicate. Further, it is no longer a matter of indifference whether the participle precede or follow the verbal predicate. We see at once the difference between, *They went through the Phrygo-Galatian region forbidden to preach the word in Asia*, and, *Forbidden to preach the word in Asia, they went through the Phrygo-Galatian region*. In the latter rendering the participle is an extension of the subject; in the former, though in agreement with the subject grammatically, it is, as we have already remarked, logically part of the predicate.

That the participle is used predicatively even in classical Greek is recognised by Greek scholars. For example, Curtius speaks of that usage "in which the participle serves to supplement a verbal predicate, and forms as such an essential part of the predication." And he adds: "This widely ramifying use to which the Greek language is especially partial is of supreme importance to the pupil."¹ In his *Grammar of the Greek Language* he gives examples of the predicative participle; such participle, as he says, serving "to complete a verb by attributing to a word contained in the sentence something which is not

¹See *Elucidations of the Student's Greek Grammar by Curtius*, translated by Evelyn Abbot (London, 1870), pp. 223, 224.

a mere addition, but an essential part of the statement."¹

Perhaps the simplest and most familiar instance of this is the use of *λανθάνω* with the participle. Thus *φονέα ἐλάνθανε βόσκων*,—*he was entertaining a murderer unawares*.² The real predicate here is *βόσκων* and *ἐλάνθανε* is *in effect* but an adverb. The predication is incomplete without both the finite verb and the participle. We may compare *φαίνεται ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν*, which means *He manifestly is a brave man*, a different statement from that contained in the words *φαίνεται ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι*, which would only mean *He is considered to be a brave man*. Again, in *ἔτυχον προσελθὼν ἀνδρί* the participle is essential to the predication, the finite verb by itself being meaningless. We might here again render *ἔτυχον* adverbially and say, *By chance I met a man*. Indeed Curtius well says concerning this: "In translating we frequently change the participle into the principal verb and render the principal Greek verb by an adverb."³

It is unnecessary to multiply instances. The reader may refer to *Curtius' Grammar*, where these are numerous. Enough has been said to show that at an early stage of the language there is already a tendency for the participle to become predicative.

And this tendency is specially marked in later Greek, as any reader of Hellenistic Greek must have observed for himself. We might almost say that with the historical writers of the New Testament it has become

¹ *Curtius' Greek Grammar* (Smith's edition, 1867), p. 319.

These examples are borrowed from Thompson's *Greek Syntax*.

³ *Greek Grammar*, p. 320.

a settled habit to use the participle predicatively. Here are some examples selected more or less at random. καθ' ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἐκαθεζόμεν διδάσκων (St. Matt. xxvi. 55), where the participle διδάσκων is logically inseparable from the verbal predicate ἐκαθεζόμεν. In St. Luke iii. 3 we have: καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς πᾶσαν περιχώρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κηρύσσων βάπτισμα μετανοίας κ.τ.λ. Here the participial clause κηρύσσων κ.τ.λ. is the main part of the predication, the verbal predicate and its adjunct defining the locality in which the preaching took place. Again in Acts xv. 24 we read: ἐπειδὴ ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐτάραξαν ὑμᾶς λόγοις ἀνασκευάζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν. In this passage ἀνασκευάζοντες κ.τ.λ. is part of the predicate. We do not contend that in this case the participial clause is the main part of the predication, but it is supplementary to and explanatory of ἐτάραξαν ὑμᾶς λόγοις. And in the 35th verse of the same chapter we have: Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Αντιοχείᾳ διδάσκοντες καὶ εὐαγγελιζόμενοι κ.τ.λ.

Nor is this usage confined only to the active and middle participles. An instance of a passive participle used predicatively occurs in Acts ix. 31, where we read; ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησία καθ' ὅλης τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Γαλιλαίας καὶ Σαμαρίας εἶχεν εἰρήνην οἰκοδομουμένη κ.τ.λ.

Here it seems reasonable to take οἰκοδομουμένη as part of the predicate. It being a present or imperfect participle, and passive withal, it is impossible to render it in English without an auxiliary, and we must say *being edified* if we would translate it literally. But when we have got a literal translation, viz. *The Church had peace being edified*, we ask whether this is really

English, and whether it conveys the meaning intended by the historian. Is not εἶχεν εἰρήνην οἰκοδομουμένη well nigh equivalent to ἔχουσα εἰρήνην ὠκοδομεῖτο? *The Church had peace and so was being built up.* It was a season of edification in the literal sense of the word because one of peace. Our language is too poor to make the one predication as the Greek can do in the words εἶχεν εἰρήνην οἰκοδομουμένη. But our inability to render the same in English need not blind us to the force of the Greek idiom.

A similar instance of a passive present participle predicatively used is to be found in St. Luke iv. 1, καὶ ἦγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα πειραζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου. If we translate literally, *And he was led in the Spirit in the wilderness during forty days being tempted of the devil*, there can be no doubt that any one reading this English rendering would understand what was meant. At the same time it is questionable whether this is proper English, though it is a form of English to which we have become somewhat accustomed as the result of literal translations from the Greek of the New Testament. But at the same time there cannot be the least doubt that πειραζόμενος is predicatively used. Our Lord's being led in the Spirit in the wilderness and His temptation by the devil are so inseparably connected together that the two are expressed in Greek by but one sentence. The meaning is better expressed in English, as I venture to think, by the omission of the auxiliary *being*. *And he was led in the Spirit in the wilderness during forty days tempted of the devil.*

Nor again is it *present* participles only that are

predicatively used by St. Luke. There are several instances of aorist participles so used. One of the most striking is to be found in Acts xxv. 13, where we have these words: Ἡμερῶν δὲ διαγενομένων τινῶν Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Βερνίκη κατήντησαν εἰς Καισαρίαν ἀσπασάμενοι τὸν Φῆστον.

"Now when certain days were passed, Agrippa the king and Bernice arrived at Caesarea and saluted Festus."

The reading ἀσπασόμενοι of the Authorised Version has been discarded, the documental authority for ἀσπασάμενοι being, as Hort says, absolutely overwhelming; and he adds: "As a matter of transmission -όμενοι can be only a correction." Hort suspects there is some prior corruption; but ἀσπασάμενοι stands in the text on as sure grounds as does διῆλθον in xvi. 6; indeed, according to Lightfoot, on surer grounds, for probabilities of transcription as well as documental authority favour ἀσπασάμενοι, whereas the former are in Lightfoot's opinion, wanting for διῆλθον.¹ Consistently then with the retention of διῆλθον we must keep ἀσπασάμενοι and endeavour to interpret it. And no interpretation of it, so far as the present writer can see, is possible, unless we take it as part of the predicate, and understand that Agrippa and Bernice paid a Festus-saluting visit to Caesarea. That is to say, their visit to Caesarea and saluting of Festus are conceived of as one thing, though it is practically impossible to translate the Greek sentence into English without the use of two finite verbs. It is not that Agrippa and Bernice arrived at Caesarea *to salute*

¹ *Biblical Essays*, p. 237, footnote.

Festus. The words κατήντησαν εἰς Καισαρίαν ἀσπασόμενοι τὸν Φῆστον would have told of a visit paid to Caesarea for a purpose, but would not have expressed, as the text succeeds in expressing, the carrying out of that purpose.

Very similar to this use of ἀσπασόμενοι is that of εἶπας in Acts xxii. 24 where we have: ἐκέλευσεν ὁ χιλιάρχος εἰσάγεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν, εἶπας μάστιξιν ἀνετάζεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

“The chief captain commanded that he should be brought into the castle, and said that he should be examined by scourging.”

The Revised Version has *bidding* for εἶπας. But of course it does not explain the participial construction to translate εἶπας *bidding* or *saying*, any more than ἀσπασόμενοι is explained by translating it *saluting*. If we wish to preserve the participial construction in translation in each case, we must of course render by a *present* participle, but, by so doing, we have not got over the grammatical difficulty of the participial construction.

Indeed in our common usage of the participle *saying* in so simple a sentence as *They came, saying etc.*, which has become so familiar to us as the result of a literal translation of the Greek, we are in reality employing the participle predicatively, though our very familiarity with this usage blinds us perhaps to its significance. There is really no difference in principle between translating the sentence in Acts xxv. 13, *Agrippa and Bernice arrived at Caesarea, saluting Festus*, and rendering εἶπας μάστιξιν ἀνετάζεσθαι by *bidding that he should be examined by scourging*. We cannot express an aorist

active participle literally in English by one word, so in order to retain the participial form we have to sacrifice the aorist, which we are more ready to do with εἶπας than with ἀσπασάμενοι. The present writer fails to see why corruption should be suspected in the case of ἀσπασάμενοι more than in that of εἶπας.¹

And we have yet other aorist participles predicatively used by St. Luke. Thus in Acts xi. 30 we find: ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀποστείλαντες πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους διὰ χειρὸς Βαρνάβα καὶ Σάβλου.

"Which also they did, sending it to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul."

This is the translation of the Revised Version. It is not easy to understand why the Revisers were so scrupulous about their marginal translation of ἀσπασάμενοι in xxv. 13 (*having saluted*) when they are ready to render ἀποστείλαντες by *sending* in this other passage. To the present writer the two cases seem to be on the same footing and should be so treated. If *sending* will do here why not *saluting* there?

To come to an examination of this verse. We may reasonably say that ἀποστείλαντες κ.τ.λ. is a part of the predicate and enlarges on what is expressed by ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν. At first sight it may seem that it only explains ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν and that it does not add anything to it. But, though ἀποστείλαντες by itself may add nothing to what is already expressed by ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν, yet the whole participial clause certainly goes further. The preceding verse states the determination

¹ It is almost amusing that Blass dismisses the ἀσπασάμενοι reading as corrupt ("corrupte paene omnes graeci") and adopts the vulgate reading ἀσπασόμενοι. See his *Acta Apostolorum*.

of the disciples to send relief. The words ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν tell of the carrying out of their purpose, and the participial clause adds a further statement describing how the purpose was carried out.

So then, though it is possible, without making ἀποστείλαντες into a finite verb and translating *and they sent*, to render it participially *by sending*, it still remains true that the ἀποστείλαντες clause is a part of the predicate, and cannot be properly explained otherwise.

We may compare with this last instance the use of the participle γράψαντες in xv. 23. If we supply ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν before this otherwise ungrammatical participle the two cases become exactly parallel.

One more example of an active aorist participle predicatively used shall be given. It must be the last. In Acts xii. 4 we have: ὃν καὶ πιάσας ἔθετο εἰς φυλακὴν, παραδούς τέσσαρσιν τετραδίοις στρατιωτῶν φυλάσσειν αὐτόν, βουλόμενος μετὰ τὸ πάσχα ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν τῷ λαῷ.

In this passage παραδούς is rendered predicatively even in the Revised Version, where we find *and delivered him*. We may remark too that βουλόμενος is also predicative and is practically equivalent to *and it was his intention*. We cannot explain the βουλόμενος clause as giving the cause of Herod's action expressed by ἔθετο εἰς φυλακὴν, though it may give the reason why he did not *kill* Peter at once.

It is to be feared that, to some readers, the setting forth of these many instances at length may seem tedious. But to the present writer it has seemed important to illustrate the point for which he is

contending by showing that the predicative use of the participle is natural to St. Luke.

It will be well now to return to our *κωλυθέντες* clause, and to examine whether the predicative sense we seek to attach to it can be supported by other passages resembling it in form. Let it be noticed that we have here an *active verb* followed by a *passive participle*. *διῆλθον τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*. We say that this may mean: *They went through the Phrygo-Galatian region forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia*. That is to say, we seek to render it, so as to lay the main stress on the prohibition against preaching the word in Asia. Is this a fair rendering? Can we find a parallel to it? To these questions we give an affirmative reply and adduce in evidence two passages taken from the third Gospel, a work generally agreed to be by the same author as the Acts of the Apostles.

It will be best first to quote these two passages and then to comment upon them.

1. *καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδίδασκεν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν δοξαζόμενος ὑπὸ πάντων* (St. Luke iv. 15).

2. *κατέβη οὗτος δεδικαιωμένος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ παρ' ἐκείνων* (St. Luke xviii. 14).

Let us look at the first of these two. "He was teaching in their synagogues glorified of all." The participial clause is an essential part of the predication.

Leave out this clause and the meaning of the statement is gone. *He was teaching in their synagogues* is not what St. Luke says. The emphasis, so it seems to me, is not on the fact of His preaching but on the reception He met with. A fame went out concerning Him throughout all the region round about. And He taught in their synagogues to the admiration and approval of all. He was welcomed, approved, admired, glorified as He taught in their synagogues.

It would be nothing to the purpose to object that *δοξαζόμενος* is an imperfect participle whereas *κωλυθέντες* is aorist. For, of course *δοξαζόμενος* is imperfect just because *ἐδίδασκεν* is imperfect. "He was teaching in their synagogues glorified of all." The participle is predicative.

And if it be an error to suppose that the emphasis of the sentence is on the participle in the first of these two cases—though we do not allow that it is—there can at any rate be no mistake as to the emphasis in the other case. *This man went down to his house justified rather than* (or, *in comparison with*) *the other*. The fact that the publican went down to his house is of no importance whatever; but, that he was justified in comparison with the Pharisee is the whole point of the teaching of the parable. Yet the fact of justification is expressed by a participle only, while the verbal predicate is that he went down to his house, a fact of trifling importance in comparison with the other. Every one would be ready to allow that the sense of the passage would be lost, if the participial clause were allowed in translation to precede the statement contained in the verbal predicate.

Being justified in comparison with the other he went down to his house, certainly does not convey the same meaning as do the words *He went down to his house justified rather than the other*. This latter rendering treats the participial clause as part of the predicate but not so the other. If we put the participle first in translating we lay stress on the unimportant fact of the publican's return to his house, whereas if we keep the order and say *he went down to his house justified*, we emphasise the fact of justification which no one can refuse to allow to be the emphasis intended in the parable.¹

A parallel use of the participle is to be found in the Septuagint rendering of 2 Kings v. 27, where we read : καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ λελεπρωμένος ὥσεὶ χιῶν. Here the finite verb and participle together form one predicate, and the participial clause is of as much (if not of greater) importance to the predication as is ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ προσώπου αὐτοῦ.

We may compare also the words ἀπῆλθεν λυπούμενος in St. Matt. xix. 22 and St. Mark x. 22. In this case both words ἀπῆλθεν and λυπούμενος are essential to the predication. Invert the order and translate *Being sorrowful he went away*, and the meaning is lost or at any rate rendered ambiguous.

Similar instances, though not exactly parallel, are St. John ix. 7, ἦλθεν βλέπων, and 2 Kings xviii. 37

¹The use of πειραζόμενος (referred to above) in St. Luke iv. 1 is singularly parallel with that of δεικναιόμενος here. I only refrained from coupling this instance with the two now given because the verbal predicate in iv. i. (ἤγετο) is passive. I do not myself think there is any real difference of principle, but I sought for passages with an active verb coupled with a passive participle.

(LXX) καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἐλιακὶμ υἱὸς Χελκίου ὁ οἰκονόμος κ.τ.λ. διερρηχότες τὰ ἱμάτια. I say these are not exactly parallel instances because the participle is an active one, but certainly in the case of a verb used intransitively, such as βλέπων, there is no essential difference between active and passive. It is the new *condition* of the once blind man who now sees to which attention is drawn, not any particular *action* on his part. *He came with his sight restored* is the sense. His sight was already restored when he returned.¹

Our attempts to interpret the κωλυθέντες clause causally and retrospectively having failed, and sufficient reasons having now been given for thinking that the participle may be here predicatively used, it will be well so to understand the sentence. *And they went through the Phrygo-Galatian region forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia.*

Now it must be noticed that the passive participle κωλυθέντες directs no attention to the *act* of prohibition on the part of the Holy Ghost, but to the *state* of the travellers in regard to its imposition. Further, the whole sentence, διῆλθον τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ, gives no clue as to when the prohibition was given, whether before the passage through the Phrygo-Galatian region or during the passage, or at its close. The one thing made clear

¹ So also the participial clause διερρηχότες τὰ ἱμάτια placed after the verbal predicate directs attention to the *state* rather than to the *action* of those spoken of. The Hebrew is קָרְעוּ בְּרִיטָם, the participle being passive.

is that when they were at the end of that region they knew they were not to preach the word in Asia. How long they had known this is not told us. Had St. Luke written διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν ἐκωλύθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κ.τ.λ. we should have understood that the participial clause διελθόντες κ.τ.λ. marked the point of time when the prohibition was made. And the finite verb ἐκωλύθησαν would have drawn attention to the fact of prohibition at a definite time. As we understand the sentence, the emphasis is on the fact that there was a prohibition imposed on the travellers and not at all on the fact that they went through the Phrygo-Galatian region, which fact, according to our interpretation, only points to the time or place *where the prohibition would take effect*, not where it was given.

Further, this interpretation of the sentence in question both preserves the character of the whole paragraph as intended to take us on step by step to Troas *en route* for Macedonia, and it has this great advantage over the other rendering whereby the participial clause is made retrospective and causal, that it makes a distinction between the two prohibitions imposed on the travellers, which distinction seems to be intended in the original. For of Asia it is said they might not *speak the word* there, but Bithynia they might not even *enter*.

We therefore understand the passage thus :

And they went through the Phrygo-Galatian region forbidden by the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia ; and when they came over against Mysia they were assaying to go into Bithynia and the Spirit

of Jesus suffered them not; and passing by Mysia they came down to Troas.

Our inquiry must now be directed to the bearing of the rendering, to which we have been led, on the rival theories respecting the locality of the churches of Galatia.

The North Galatian theory has it in its favour that the connection of the finite verb *διήλθον* and its sentence with what has gone before might suggest that the Phrygo-Galatian region is here new ground to St. Paul. The *δὲ* of verse 6 answers to the *μὲν οὖν* of verse 5. In the earlier verse is summarised the result of the Apostle's re-visit to the churches founded during his first journey, and then the historian passes on to tell of progress through lands not until now visited by St. Paul. But there are serious difficulties to this interpretation of verse 6. In the first place, it is recognised by those who favour the North Galatian theory that the route into Galatia proper was an unlikely one in itself and one that would only be taken for some special reason. St. Luke does not, according to our understanding of his language, give any reason for this route being chosen, and no reason can be given except that it was through illness that St. Paul went to Galatia. But in regard to this point there are the same difficulties that we encountered when we read *διελθόντες*. We can understand that illness might detain the Apostle in Galatia if once he had gone there for other reasons; but that it should take him there, we find it difficult to believe.

Then again, how are we to explain the summary way in which this visit to Galatia is recorded? If St. Paul visited the principal cities and founded churches in them, how is it that not a single city of North Galatia is mentioned by name? It is St. Luke's habit when he is narrating the Apostle's travels over new ground to mention the names of the cities and to record what happened in them. But when he goes over the ground again, unless for some particular purpose he wishes to detain his readers at some city to tell of something specially important (as for example in the case of Timothy at Lystra), he sums up the district as briefly as he can.¹ It is certainly difficult to account for silence as to events in the cities of North Galatia, and still more difficult to say why there is no mention of the cities by name, if St. Paul did, as those who hold the North Galatian theory contend, visit the country on his second journey.

It may be answered that St. Luke is hastening on to Troas and so to Macedonia. But if, in his zeal to take his readers across the Aegean, he forgets or neglects to record in any detail the founding of the important churches of Galatia, we cannot reconcile this with his usual practice.

Moreover, no emphasis is laid on the actual journey through the Phrygo-Galatian region. Apart from the fact that we have here an aorist (*διήλθον*) and not an imperfect (as in xv. 3 and 41) whereby the progress of a missionary journey through new country would be more naturally expressed, we have already

¹ A good instance is Acts xviii. 23, which will be considered in the next chapter.

given reasons for thinking that the real emphasis of the sentence is on the participial clause which we have decided to interpret predicatively. The passage through the Phrygo-Galatian region marks only the point at which the prohibition imposed by the Holy Ghost against speaking the word in Asia applies. This particular region was not the prohibited region but the one preceding it. In fact Professor Ramsay's explanation of τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, which defines it to be the Phrygian part of the province of Galatia, suits the context admirably. After summing up the work of the Apostle on the old ground in the words: αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησίαι ἐστέρησαντο τῇ πίστει καὶ ἐπερίσσευσεν τῷ ἁριθμῷ καθ' ἡμέραν, the historian is going on to tell of work on new ground; and that new ground is not Asia nor Bithynia, but Macedonia; and why it was Macedonia is made clear in the paragraph xvi. 6-10.

It may be objected that St. Luke did not call the χώρα about Antioch (xiii. 49) Phrygo-Galatian before, nor even hint that it belonged to Galatia. But the answer to this is that according to our interpretation of the κωλυθέντες clause, there is more emphasis on the prohibition against speaking the word in Asia than there is on the passing through the Phrygo-Galatian region. We may therefore expect that the choice of the epithet *Phrygo-Galatian* will have some connection with this prohibition, and such we contend it has. Had the historian called the χώρα the Phrygian region, or Phrygia, his meaning would have been lost because Phrygia was partly in Asia. The epithet as we have it exactly describes a χώρα

which stopped short at the boundaries of Asia where speaking the word was forbidden.

The conclusion to which we have come then is this, that whether we take *διελθόντες* or *διήλθον* as the true reading in xvi. 6, *Γαλατικός* is used in a political sense in the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*. This gives consistency to the whole passage, which then explains naturally how it was that step by step the Apostle was led to labour in Macedonia after passing over districts where he would, but for the Divine intervention, have more naturally gone. The whole paragraph xvi. 6-10 is a record of Divine guidance. We venture to understand it thus:

Either while they were passing through the Phrygo-Galatian region, or after they had got through it, they were forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the word in Asia; that is to say, that by the time they got to the boundary of the province of Asia they understood they were not to preach in that province, so they did not preach there but struck north intending to go to Bithynia; but at a point of their journey opposite Mysia they were made to understand that they were not to enter Bithynia, so they turned westwards, passing by Mysia, and not preaching in it (for as Mysia was in Asia it was prohibited ground for preaching), and so they came to Troas on the coast, where a vision made it clear that God had called them to cross to Macedonia to preach the Gospel there.

In Macedonia the missionary work begins again,

and is recorded by St. Luke in his accustomed detail.

It is worth while to notice that our interpretation of this paragraph gives to *κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν* its full meaning. For taking the words to mean *over against Mysia*, we understand that Mysia lay at right-angles to the direction of the course they were pursuing. Such would be the case if the travellers were journeying due north towards Bithynia. One province being forbidden them for preaching, they were intending to go into another. To this they directed their steps but, when they were over against Mysia, a further prohibition was imposed. The missionary band is forbidden to enter Bithynia; so they turn at right angles to their previous route, and, still travelling through a part of the province of Asia, viz. Mysia, in which, however, they did not preach (such seems to be the force of *παρελθόντες*), they came to the sea coast at Troas, where fresh guidance was granted to them.

It seems to the present writer that a fatal objection to Dean Farrar's interpretation of Asia as Lydia and not the whole of the Roman province of that name, lies in this: that such interpretation fails to account for the conduct of the travellers in regard to Mysia. That the travellers "passed by" Mysia cannot mean of course that they did not enter Mysia at all, for they came to Troas which was itself in Mysia. And this is acknowledged most unmistakably by Dean Farrar.¹ Making *παρελθόντες* equivalent

¹ *Life and Work of St. Paul*, vol. i., p. 476, footnote.

to ἀφέντες ("neglecting") he says this "cannot be translated 'passing through,' which would be διελθόντες, though a glance at the map will show that they must have passed through Mysia without stopping." But Dean Farrar gives no other reason for this neglect of Mysia except that "in its bleak and thinly populated uplands it offered but few opportunities for evangelisation." Of course if the Dean is sure for other reasons that Asia means Lydia, and so the prohibition imposed by the Holy Ghost against speaking the word in Asia did not hold good in Mysia, some such attempt as he has made to explain the "neglect" of Mysia may be called for. But is it not more natural to find the reason for the "neglect" in the context; which we at once do if Asia be the province of that name?

Enough has now been said to show that the interpretation of the κωλυθέντες clause for which we have been contending makes the paragraph xvi. 6-10 perfectly consistent with itself and explanatory of itself. This is surely a great gain. But it becomes necessary now to examine whether the conclusions to which we have thus far come are consistent with the use of Γαλατικός in Acts xviii. 23. This inquiry will form the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

THE USE OF Γαλατικός IN ACTS XVIII. 23.

Καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς Καισαρίαν, ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ ἐξῆλθεν, διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, στήριζων πάντας τοὺς μαθητάς.

In the two preceding chapters of this essay we have concluded that Acts xvi. 6 does not seem to record a visit of St. Paul to Galatia proper on his second missionary journey. In our examination of that verse and of the passage in which it occurs we have purposely abstained from any reference to the meaning of Γαλατικός in the passage now before us. We have, it is true,¹ quoted xviii. 22, 23 already, but the use we made of it was quite independent of any special interpretation of τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν. For of course it is allowed by the North and South Galatian schools alike that old ground is covered in verse 23, though a difference of opinion necessarily must exist as to what the old ground was. According to the South Galatian theory the

¹ See p. 16.

country here summed up in τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν was first visited on the *first* missionary journey of St. Paul, whereas according to the advocates of the opposite theory it was on his *second* journey that the Apostle first visited it.

What we have now to do is to examine whether xviii. 23 can be interpreted consistently with the interpretation we have given to xvi. 6, or whether there is anything in the form of the expression τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, which should lead us to think that we were wrong in our previous conclusions. To this inquiry we at once proceed.

And first it will be well to state that it is not necessary that the Galatian region of xviii. 23 should be the same as "the Phrygo-Galatian region" of xvi. 6. For we must be careful to notice the position of καὶ Φρυγίαν in the verse now before us. In xvi. 6 there can be no doubt that Φρυγίαν is used adjectivally, but it is by no means clear that in the later passage the word is so used. Indeed the difference between the two expressions, τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν and τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν, is so remarkable that any interpretation of them which does not take this into account, or which fails to give it its proper value, would be wrong.

We may then lay this down: that if the South Galatian theory is able to give a better explanation of the difference of expression in the two verses than is afforded by the North Galatian theory, then the likelihood of its correctness is increased. If, again, the explanations given by supporters of the rival theories are evenly balanced in value, we stand where

we were at the end of the previous chapter, and this verse really adds nothing to the argument. But if the advocates of the North Galatian theory can give the better account of the difference of expression in xvi. 6 and xviii. 23, then (we readily acknowledge it) our position reached after the examination of xvi. 6 is not so strong as it was.

The real point of difference between the two rival theories in their explanations of the difference of expression in τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν and τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν is this. The South Galatian school interprets the χώρα of the one verse to be different from the χώρα of the other, whereas the rival school makes the two expressions mean the same thing but accounts for their difference of form by saying that the order of the Apostle's route was reversed.¹ Those who take the South Galatian view contend that τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν of xvi. 6 is included in τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν of xviii. 23, but that this latter expression takes in more than the Phrygo-Galatian region of xvi. 6. In fact each school can interpret xviii. 23 consistently with the theory it supports. Before setting forth the South Galatian interpretation it will be well to inquire whether the explanation the North Galatian school gives of xviii. 23 is such as to weaken or strengthen their case.

Let it be allowed that the North Galatian theory is

¹ Blass certainly takes this view. See his commentary on xviii. 23. It is not quite clear whether Lightfoot does so or not, but his note 3 in *Galatians*, p. 22, seems to mean that he does.

correct, that St. Paul did visit North Galatia on his second missionary journey. This being so, we readily allow that he visited it again on his third journey, and we interpret τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν as equivalent in extension to τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν.

Now at once this question forces itself upon us: How are we to account for the external position of Φρυγίαν? Why is the expression employed in xviii. 23 not τὴν Γαλατικὴν καὶ Φρυγίαν χώραν?

To the present writer it seems that Φρυγίαν in xviii. 23 must be taken to be a noun, whether the North or South Galatian theory be adopted. Grammar seems to require it; and in any case, if it be an adjective, on no account will grammar permit of its being understood as a part of the epithet Γαλατικὴν, so as to have a compound epithet as in xvi. 6. So then there can be no doubt as to the translation of τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν. We must render "the Galatian region and Phrygia." If Φρυγίαν were taken as an adjective we should have to translate "the Galatian region and a Phrygian one"; and this would not be satisfactory to either side. If any would make a compound adjective and interpret τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν as equivalent to τὴν Γαλατικὴν καὶ Φρυγίαν χώραν, we can only reply with a *non possumus*.

Well, then, St. Paul on his third journey goes through the Phrygo-Galatian region of xvi. 6 in the reverse order. Why then does the writer not say τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν? It may be said that he called it a χώρα in xvi. 6 therefore he must do so now. Yes, but there it was a compound χώρα—a *Phrygo-Galatian* region.

τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν, if it means τὴν Γαλατίαν, seems to be circumlocution.

And here too we must come back to the alternative interpretations of "the Phrygo-Galatian region" of xvi. 6 given by Lightfoot.¹ If we understand that this region means Galatia proper, once a part of Phrygia, the argument as to the order of Γαλατικὴν and Φρυγίαν in the two passages becomes meaningless. And further, the mention of Φρυγίαν in xviii. 23 is wholly unintelligible, for if some part of what was *then* Phrygia is not included in the phrase τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, then Phrygia cannot be old ground on the third missionary journey, and surely no one will question that the narrative implies that it is old ground. There really is no place for Lightfoot's explanation of "the Phrygo-Galatian region" as Galatia proper, *once* Phrygia, when we come to this new expression of xviii. 23, unless we are going to do violence to the grammar and render καὶ Φρυγίαν as equal to "and this region was once Phrygian," which surely no one is prepared to do. We were obliged in chapter ii. of this essay to admit both of Lightfoot's alternative interpretations of τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν as possible because we preferred not to complicate the argument by an appeal to xviii. 23; but now we say unhesitatingly that for the reasons just given we think it a wholly untenable interpretation that the epithet should mean "Galatian once Phrygian" even on the hypothesis of the truth of the North Galatian theory.

Lightfoot's other interpretation of τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ

¹ *Galatians*, p. 22. See chapter ii. of this essay.

Γαλατικὴν χώραν is not open to the same objection, for it includes some part of what was still Phrygia in the χώρα. We have in chapter ii. objected on *à priori* grounds to a χώρα being called Phrygo-Galatian because *part* was Phrygian and *part* Galatian. But waiving that objection as one that may be insufficient, we must examine xviii. 23 in the light of the only explanation of τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν left to those who take Lightfoot's view.

To the present writer the phrase τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν is a serious stumbling-block in the acceptance of the North Galatian theory. Granting that such a phrase as τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν might be a convenient one for summarising a district partly Phrygian and partly Galatian and so might explain the absence of τὴν Γαλατίαν, he yet feels that the τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν of xviii. 23 is wholly unlikely on the North Galatian theory as being circumlocution. The only way to get over the difficulty would be to take τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν as equivalent to τὴν Γαλατικὴν καὶ Φρυγίαν χώραν, which of course we refuse to do.

The conclusion to which we have come thus far in this chapter is that granting a North Galatian visit in xvi. 6, and interpreting xviii. 23 so as to accord with such a visit, we have not an adequate explanation of the phrase τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν. Further, the explanation that is given of the variation of this phrase from that used in xvi. 6 is such as to cut the ground from under the possible interpretation of "the Phrygo-Galatian region" suggested by Light-

foot, that the region is to be understood as Galatia proper, once Phrygia.

It remains now to interpret xviii. 23 according to the other theory, and to determine whether the phrase *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν* is capable of justification.

As has been already said, the South Galatian interpretation of *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν* understands it to be a different *χώρα* from that called *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* in xvi. 6. Nor is there any reason why the two should not be different seeing that the epithet is different in the two cases. One thing only have we a right to expect and that is, that *Γαλατικός* should be used in the same sense each time. If it is employed politically in xvi. 6 we should reasonably conclude that it is so used in the later passage. This consistency is assured by the South Galatian interpretation. In saying this we do not suggest that a like consistency does not obtain in the opposite school, which interprets *Γαλατικός* ethnologically each time it occurs. Neither side has any advantage then in this regard.

The Roman province of Galatia was at this time very extensive, so that there is nothing improbable in the South Galatian position in interpreting the *χώρα* of xviii. 23 as different from that of xvi. 6, seeing that the latter is described by a twofold epithet while the other is simply *Galatian*.

There is not the least doubt that xviii. 23 is meant to take us over old ground, so that *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν* must be some *χώρα* with which we are already familiar, though we may not know it by this name.

Again τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν would seem to be intended to take us over *all* the old ground until new ground is reached in xix. 1, viz. τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη, through which St. Paul passed to Ephesus, which was *the* city of the third missionary journey—for the Apostle had hardly visited it on the former journey (xviii. 19). That *all* the ground is intended to be covered would seem clear from the two words πάντας and καθεξῆς. We expect then that this phrase τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν will include certainly all the churches from Derbe to Antioch.

It would be difficult otherwise to account for the omission of churches so important as those of Derbe and Lystra on this journey westwards. It is true indeed that at the beginning of the Apostle's second missionary journey we have mention of Syria and Cilicia and of St. Paul ἐπιστηρίξων τὰς ἐκκλησίας, whereas there is no mention of Syria and Cilicia or of their churches now that he starts on his third journey. It cannot of course be said that Syria and Cilicia are included in τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν. So if churches visited on the second journey are now omitted, why should not Derbe and Lystra also be left out? But it must be remembered that the churches of Derbe and Lystra were of St. Paul's own founding and that their members were specially his disciples. It is not impossible that the attention to Syria and Cilicia on the second journey arose from the desirableness of delivering to the churches the decrees of the Jerusalem Council. This might account for mention being made of these churches in connection

with the second journey, while there is no mention of them in the third. But that the Apostle should omit to visit his disciples at Lystra and Derbe because he had already visited them once since their conversion to the faith, we find it difficult to believe, and the more so as his natural route to Ephesus lay that way. Seeing then that Lystra and Derbe were in the province of Galatia we fail to see why they should not be comprehended in τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν.

But we must take account of the objection that, in the narrative of the first missionary journey, Lystra and Derbe are called *cities of Lycaonia*. (κατέφυγον εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας Λύστραν καὶ Δέρβην καὶ τὴν περὶχωρον, Acts xiv. 6.) It may be urged that St. Luke would have said in Acts xviii. 23 τὴν Λυκαονίαν καὶ Φρυγίαν and not have introduced the epithet Γαλατικός to apply it to a district he had not so described before. Professor Ramsay has given a sufficient answer to this objection.¹ Lycaonia was not wholly in the province of Galatia, but the part of it containing Lystra and Derbe did belong to the great province. Professor Ramsay lays stress on the need for some distinctive name in Acts xiv. 6 so as to indicate that from Iconium the Apostle passed to another χώρα where he would be free from the molestation he had suffered at Antioch and Iconium. He was already in the Galatian province in these two cities, so that some name whereby the two parts of the province could be distinguished was a necessity for the understanding of the narrative. It was not "into Lycaonia" that the persecuted travellers went

¹ *St. Paul the Traveller*, pp. 110-112.

but "to the *cities of Lycaonia*, Lystra and Derbe, and the region round about."

While then Lystra and Derbe were called *cities of Lycaonia* to distinguish them from Antioch and Iconium in the narrative of the first missionary journey, no such distinction is required in this setting out on the third journey.

But we must come to close quarters with this phrase τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν. Supposing that this is meant to cover the old ground and to include Lystra, Derbe, Iconium and Antioch, we must still inquire which part of the phrase is applicable to the different parts of the route.

Professor Ramsay understands τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν to be Lystra, Derbe καὶ τὴν περίχωρον. Just as there was a Phrygo-Galatian region, so, he tells us, there was a Lycaono-Galatian region. Lycaonia was partly in the province of Galatia and partly in the Regnum Antiochi. τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν then means the Lycaono-Galatian region, this being the first Galatian region the Apostle would come to as he passed from East to West. And Professor Ramsay argues that it would seem more especially Galatian, rather than Lycaonian, to one coming from that part of Lycaonia which was in the kingdom of Antiochus. This might explain why the epithet Lycaonian is not applied here.

Then Professor Ramsay understands Φρυγίαν to be practically the same as τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν of xvi. 6, the lengthy expression not being used here as its use would have made a cumbersome phrase,

of meaning no clearer than that of the phrase actually employed.

Exception may of course be taken by supporters of the North Galatian theory to this interpretation of *Φρυγίαν*. Had the same region been called Phrygia before in xvi. 6 the objection would not hold, but the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* was made use of then and it is reasonable to ask why *Φρυγίαν* is sufficient now. But it must be remembered that in juxtaposition with the *διῆλθον τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* of xvi. 6 was the clause *καλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ*, the force of which we have inquired into in chapter iii. of this essay. The mention of this prohibition against speaking the word in Asia would make it practically impossible for the writer to put *διῆλθον τὴν Φρυγίαν*, for Phrygia was partly in the province of Asia. There is special point in the epithet *Γαλατικός* being used in connection with *Φρύγιος*, for, surely, unless our reasoning in the foregoing chapter be quite wrong, the point of the verse is that the application of the prohibition to speak the word in Asia followed at once on the conclusion of their passage over the old ground. It was in the Galatian part of Phrygia that they were allowed to preach as they did before, but when they came to the Asiatic part of it they were prohibited.

But now in this new verse, xviii. 23, there is no such prohibition. Asia, and in particular Ephesus, is the Apostle's destination; and thus, even though a part of Phrygia was in Asia, there is no serious objection to the use of *Φρυγία* for what the reader

may quite well understand has been called τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν in xvi. 6. The Apostle's preaching does not now stop when he gets out of Galatian Phrygia. He may speak the word in Asiatic Phrygia too.

This expression of what was called τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν in xvi. 6 by the simple Φρυγίαν in xviii. 23, may then help to corroborate the interpretation of the κωλυθέντες clause which we laid down in the preceding chapter.

To the writer of this essay, Professor Ramsay's interpretation of Φρυγίαν as equivalent to τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν seemed at first the least satisfactory part of the South Galatian theory. But a closer examination of the point of difficulty has tended rather to a confirmation of the theory in his mind, and he thinks that what has weighed with him may weigh with others also. To him it seems that we must either explain the phrase τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν as we have just done, referring τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν to Lycaono-Galatia and Φρυγίαν to Galatian Phrygia, or else χώρα must be interpreted less technically and more generally and the whole phrase τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν be taken to mean *the Galatian region including Phrygia, i.e. its Phrygian part*. An objection to this rendering would be that καὶ Φρυγίαν is superfluous if τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν already takes in the whole of the south part of the Galatian province. But, though in one sense it is superfluous, in another it is not, for it helps to define the full extent of the journey before the new part is reached.

While then the difficulty of an exact analysis of the phrase *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν* must be acknowledged, there is good reason for understanding *Γαλατικός* in a provincial sense. While the North Galatian school are able to fit in this phrase with their theory, the doing so only creates further difficulties for them to solve; for either they must take *Φρυγίαν* adjectivally, which is to violate the grammar, or else, taking it as a noun, they have to explain the circumlocution involved in *τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, for which, on their theory, *τὴν Γαλατίαν* ought to suffice.

We have next to examine the contents of the Epistle to the Galatians. To this investigation we proceed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE DESTINATION OF THE EPISTLE DERIVED FROM ITS CONTENTS.

IN the three preceding chapters we claim to have shown that the two passages in the Acts in which the epithet Γαλατικός occurs do not favour the North Galatian theory. In examining the first of the passages we admitted into our criticism of it the statement made by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians that it was on account of an infirmity of the flesh that he preached the Gospel to them τὸ πρότερον. It was right and fair to make use of this statement, because at first sight it seemed that there might be some connection between the detention of the Apostle on account of sickness, and that which is described by St. Luke as a hindrance or prohibition imposed by the Holy Spirit. But the admission of this hypothesis led to a *reductio ad absurdum* and there was nothing for it but to abandon the hypothesis altogether.

It remains now to examine the Epistle to the Galatians more generally in order to ascertain whether its contents are consonant with the conclusion that

has been reached respecting the meaning of Γαλατικός in Acts xvi. and xviii. If that conclusion be correct then St. Paul did not visit North Galatia at all, and consequently his Epistle, being addressed to churches of his own founding, must have been intended for the churches of South Galatia, the churches of Lystra and Derbe, Iconium and Antioch.

We must inquire whether there is anything contained in the Epistle to mark its destination. It has been thought by some that though the evidence of the Acts in favour of a visit to North Galatia is somewhat uncertain, yet the point can be decided in favour of such a visit by an appeal to the Epistle. What then are the contents of the Epistle which are supposed to favour the North Galatian theory?

Foremost is the statement of iv. 13. It was thought that the illness of the Apostle explained quite naturally why he should have gone out of his more natural course, and have passed into a wild and semi-barbarous region. This statement of the Epistle would, it is true, help to explain such a circuitous course *if we had other evidence that such a course was taken.*

But the value of such evidence has broken down under examination. Those who hold the North Galatian theory must show in detail how Gal. iv. 13 is to be reconciled with Acts xvi. 6, and not fancy that the statement of the Epistle is in agreement with that of the Acts, just because there is in each mention of something of the nature of a hindrance or check on an otherwise determined course. The present writer has given his reasons for thinking that there is no connection whatever between the ἀσθένεια τῆς

σαρκός of the Epistle, and the prohibition of the Acts. And sufficient reasons have been given for refusing to read the ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός into Acts xvi. 6, as the explanation of $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \deltaιῆλθον \\ \deltaιελθόντες \end{array} \right.$ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν. So then the ἀσθένεια must be looked for on some other occasion in the Apostle's travels.

Professor Ramsay, in his *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, has made a not unreasonable suggestion, that the Apostle was afflicted with a serious attack of fever on his first missionary journey, when he was in the lowlands of Pamphylia.¹ The present writer does not enlarge on this suggestion as, after all, it is a matter of conjecture pure and simple. The suggestion may, or may not, appeal to critics. But it may be said that at any rate it is as reasonable an attempt to fix the ἀσθένεια in point of time, as is that of North Galatians, who place it in Acts xvi. 6 as the explanation of διῆλθον τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν. Unless the arguments of chapter iii. of this essay be utterly wrong, the κωλυθέντες clause of Acts xvi. 6 cannot have any connection with what is called an ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός in Gal. iv. 13. So that, in either case, whether we hold the North or South Galatian theory, we must allow that St. Luke says nothing about the sickness or bodily weakness.

Another argument derived from the Epistle in favour of the North Galatian theory, is St. Paul's mode of address to the Galatians in iii. 1. He writes: ὦ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται τίς ὑμᾶς ἐβάσκανεν κ.τ.λ.; Does not

¹ *St. Paul the Traveller*, ch. v.

this appellation Γαλάται suggest that those to whom the Epistle was addressed were *nationally* Galatians?

Let it be conceded that this is a good argument for the North Galatian school. Indeed it may be said to be the strongest argument of all. Yet to the present writer it seems that Bishop Lightfoot has carried it too far. In his footnote in *Colossians*, p. 26, he says: "Even granting that the Christian communities of Lycaonia and Pisidia could by a straining of language be called churches of Galatia, is it possible that St. Paul would address them personally as 'ye foolish Galatians'? Such language would be no more appropriate than if a modern preacher in a familiar address were to appeal to the Poles of Warsaw, as, 'ye Russians,' or the Hungarians of Pesth as 'ye Austrians,' or the Irish of Cork as 'ye Englishmen.'"

Now these illustrations are not fair. To single out Poles, Irishmen, and Hungarians, and to compare an appeal to them as Russians, Englishmen, and Austrians with the appeal to the Christians of the province of Galatia as Galatians, is to ignore the fact that while Poles and Irishmen notoriously hate their rulers, whom they regard as despotic, and while Hungarians are so specially proud of their nationality that even the monarchy which they own must acknowledge itself to be Austro-Hungarian, and not simply Austrian, there is no evidence that the people of Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, objected to be reminded of their connection with the Roman Empire.

But though Bishop Lightfoot carries his argument a little too far, the case is really stronger than might at first appear. We have lately had an opportunity

of observing the unreadiness of one nation to accept the name of another nation, with which its political destinies are closely linked. Thus Scotchmen, loyal to the throne which is the throne of England as of Scotland, have shown that they dislike to be called Englishmen; and if some name is needed to include English and Scotch alike, it must be one that declares no preference for either people, and includes them both. This the epithet *British* seems to do, though Englishmen might reasonably object to this as being more applicable to Scots than to the English. But no exception is taken to this name by Englishmen, because England has never considered herself to cease to be British in spite of her admixture of other blood.

In the case before us a common epithet is needed for the inhabitants of the whole of Southern Galatia, for Lycaonians and some who were Phrygians. It is clear then that no mode of address will be suitable unless it be neutral in regard to both peoples. Neither group of inhabitants being Galatian by blood, yet both being of Galatia as members of the Roman province of that name, we have in the address *Γαλάται* a word suited to both without a preference for either, and it would be difficult to find any other name of which this could be said.

So then, while ready to acknowledge that the address, *ὦ ἀνόητοι Γαλάται*, seems specially appropriate to North Galatians, the present writer does not feel the force of Bishop Lightfoot's comparisons, and certainly he does not think this argument an insuperable difficulty to the South Galatian theory. In conceding that the address is suitable to North Galatians, we do

not allow that it is unsuitable for South Galatians, unless it can be shewn that some other name would be more appropriately applied to them. It is not easy to find any other collective name by which St. Paul could have addressed the Christians of South Galatia, supposing him to be addressing them.¹

Again, Bishop Lightfoot makes much in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians of the naturalness of the Galatian defection.² The Gauls, he reminds us, have always been fickle, and so he argues that their apostasy from the purity of the Gospel is characteristic of the people.

This psychological argument is really worth nothing to determine the destination of the Epistle. Were its destination known certainly from other sources to be North Galatia, then Bishop Lightfoot's explanation of the naturalness of the Galatian apostasy would be of interest. But it is too unreliable a form of argument in the absence of any such knowledge.³ To the present

¹ Since this was written I have read Professor Ramsay's arguments in *The Expositor*, August, 1898, under "Galatians and Gauls." To these attention may be drawn.

² See his first Essay in his *Galatians*.

³ See article in Smith's *Dict. of Bible* (2nd ed.) on "Epistle to Gal." The contrast between this article and that of the old edition is striking. See also *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 105, 6. Professor Ramsay's smiles can be seen through his words as he writes: "It is certainly a sound principle to compare the qualities implied in St. Paul's Epistles with the national character of the persons addressed; but national character is a very delicate subject to deal with, and the Celtic faults and qualities are certainly overstated by some of the commentators. The climax of imaginative insight into national character is reached by some Germans, who consider the population of North Galatia to be not Celtic but Germanic, and discover in the Galatians of the Epistle the qualities of their own nation."

writer it does not seem worthy of any further consideration.

Lastly, there is the argument based on the use of *τὸ πρότερον* in Gal. iv. 13. Bishop Lightfoot¹ understands *τὸ πρότερον* to mean *on the former occasion*, and so concludes that, when the Epistle to the Galatians was written, the Apostle had visited Galatia *twice*, and twice only. Further, according to Lightfoot, the Epistle to the Galatians was written between the first Epistle to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Romans. So, then, as these two were composed on the third missionary journey after Ephesus was reached, and as, before the Epistle to the Galatians St. Paul had only visited Galatia *twice*, whereas, according to the South Galatian interpretation of *Γαλατικός* in the Acts there must have been three visits to Galatia before Ephesus was reached on the third journey, therefore the South Galatian School is lodged in a contradiction which tells against their theory.

But in answer to this it may be said that those who locate the Churches of Galatia in South Galatia do not hold themselves bound by Lightfoot's date of the Epistle to the Galatians. For example Ramsay, who also interprets *τὸ πρότερον* as Lightfoot does, dates the Galatian Epistle from Antioch before the third missionary journey began. With this, however, the present writer does not find himself in agreement. He thinks that Bishop Lightfoot's chronological arrangement of the Epistles is correct, for reasons to be

¹ See his note in *Galatians*.

stated in later chapters; but he ventures to differ from both Lightfoot and Ramsay in their interpretation of *τὸ πρότερον*; and he will now proceed to give his reasons for thinking that *τὸ πρότερον* is used in Gal. iv. 13 in the sense of *formerly*, and that the expression does not imply the exact number of two visits to Galatia prior to the writing of the Epistle.

Lightfoot in his note *in loc.* says that *τὸ πρότερον* cannot be simply equivalent to *πάλαι*, "some time ago." This one must agree with. He then goes on to say that it may mean "formerly," with a direct and emphatic reference to some later point of time. In this sense it is certainly used in Joh. vi. 62; ix. 8; 1 Tim. i. 13. Or it may mean "on the former of two occasions." He prefers this latter interpretation because it is difficult to explain the emphasis implied in the use of the article *τὸ* if we assign to *πρότερον* the other meaning. But, with all deference to Lightfoot's opinion, the emphasis is clear enough if only we read verses 14 ff. with 13. It is not that the Apostle says simply: "Ye know that on account of an infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel to you *τὸ πρότερον*." We must not break the sense but read right on: "And that which was a temptation to you in my flesh ye despised not nor rejected, but ye received me as an angel of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where, then, is that gratulation of yourselves? For I bear you witness that, if possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me. So,

then, am I become your enemy because I tell you the truth?"

Here surely is the explanation of the emphasis. It is a contrast between then and now. *Then* (τὸ πρότερον) though he was afflicted with bodily weakness, they were ready to sacrifice anything for him—*now*¹ he is become their enemy. To disregard the connection of vv. 14-16 with what is gone before is to lose the sense of the whole passage. As well stop at τὰ καλὰ ἔργα in our Lord's words in St. Matt. v. 16, thereby entirely missing the point of His exhortation, which is that God may have glory and not that men may see our good works, as check the sense of this passage in the Epistle by disconnecting vv. 14 ff. from v. 13.

It is surprising that Bishop Lightfoot missed this point. Maybe the explanation is to be found in the fact that the North Galatian theory already seemed to him so strong, and the interpretation of τὸ πρότερον to mean *on the former occasion* to agree so exactly with it, that he did not see the force of the other rendering.

It may even be questioned whether the rendering "on the former of my visits" is admissible here. For if the comparative force of the adverb be insisted on, the sentence strictly means: Through an infirmity of the flesh I preached the Gospel on the former of the two occasions *when I preached the Gospel*. And it is open to very serious question whether a second visit

¹ The word "now" does not, it is true, occur, but may well be implied in γέγονα. In *effect* it is there though not in *actual act*.

could be called *preaching the Gospel* in New Testament language.¹ Evangelizing would be the work of the first visit, "confirming" would be the purpose of the later visits. So that the Apostle would hardly speak of himself as *preaching the Gospel* a second time in the same place.

It does not seem to the present writer that the expression τὸ πρότερον need be interpreted *on the former occasion* even on the North Galatian hypothesis. The rendering *formerly* accords better with the sense of the passage in which it occurs.

So, then, of the four arguments derived from the Epistle in favour of its North Galatian destination, viz. :

- (1) The ἀσθένεια τῆς σαρκός argument.
- (2) The psychological argument.
- (3) The τὸ πρότερον argument.
- (4) The ὦ Γαλάται argument.

The last only seems to have any real value. And this is indeed a slender thread on which to hang so heavy a conclusion.

On the other hand there are not wanting in the Epistle evidences of its South Galatian destination. Thus, for example, that Gal. v. 11 has reference to St. Paul's conduct in regard to Timothy (Acts xvi. 3) is recognised even by Lightfoot.² "But I, brethren, if I

¹ I allow that St. Paul's words in Rom. i. 15 may be thought to tell against me. But they were written before St. Paul himself had been to Rome. Moreover, the phrase ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ is general.

² Note on Gal. v. 11.

still preach circumcision, why am I still persecuted?" Here, doubtless, there is an allusion to the argument used by the Judaisers that Paul had himself recognised the validity, and perhaps, also, the necessity of circumcision by having Timothy circumcised. Timothy was of Lystra in South Galatia. Certainly the point of the attack on St. Paul is sharpened if we suppose that the Epistle was addressed to those who had themselves known Timothy, and who knew too how St. Paul had acted in regard to him.

And we cannot be accused of unfairness if we say that we see a reference in Gal. iv. 14 to the events recorded in Acts xiv. 11 ff. The words, "*As an angel of God ye received me,*" certainly gain in point if they were addressed to the Christians of Lystra among others. And it is worth while to notice that this reference does not stand alone, but we have just such another in Gal. i. 8, 9, "But though we, *or an angel from heaven* should preach unto you any gospel other than that which is preached unto you let him be anathema."

It cannot fairly be argued, as has been done by members of the South Galatian school, *e.g.*, Renan and Ramsay,¹ that the mention of Barnabas in the Epistle betrays the fact that he was personally known to the Galatians. It may, I think, reasonably be said that the manner in which Barnabas is introduced proves him to have been known at any rate *by name*. But

¹It is due to Professor Ramsay to say that he does not see any "great value in this argument." *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 97. It would be fairer to say that the argument is invalid as is here demonstrated.

beyond this we cannot go, as Bishop Lightfoot has clearly shewn by his reference to the allusion to Barnabas in 1 Cor. ix. 6.¹ We have no more right to argue that Barnabas was personally known to the Churches of Galatia than we have to say that St. Paul's reference to him in 1 Corinthians proves him to have been known to the Corinthians. We have not the least reason to suppose that Barnabas was personally known at Corinth. In fact we have every reason to think he was not, for he was not with St. Paul on his second missionary journey when Corinth was first evangelised.

While then we have reasons for considering that Barnabas was known by name to the Churches of Galatia we must not therefore assume any *personal* acquaintance between them. James and Cephas and John are introduced in the Epistle to the Galatians as those with whose names its readers would be well acquainted. But no one is likely to argue that these three were personally known in the churches of Galatia. That their names were familiar is of course most natural, for the Judaising teachers who were troubling the Galatian churches, had, as we can see from St. Paul's own reference to the Three as οἱ δοκοῦντες στῦλοι εἶναι, been extolling them as the true pillars of the Church; this metaphor, according to Lightfoot,² being commonly used by the Jews in speaking of the great teachers of the law. St. Paul's Apostolic authority on the other hand was disputed by the Judaisers, and it would seem to follow from the connection of the name of Barnabas with that of Paul in 1 Cor. ix. 6

¹ *Colossians*, p. 28, footnote.

² See his note on Gal. ii. 9.

that Barnabas, like St. Paul, was represented by this party as one of inferior authority, he being known as a prominent champion of Gentile freedom from the bondage of the Jewish law (Gal. ii). So then even if the churches of Galatia be in North Galatia, whither the Judaisers have penetrated, the name of Barnabas might quite well have become familiar to the Galatians there.

But (and this is a point of some importance) the presence of Jewish emissaries presupposed in the Galatian Epistle is more natural and probable in South Galatia than in the "semi-barbarous" regions of the North. For, even granting the North Galatian contention that St. Paul visited North Galatia because of special divine guidance thereto, and in spite of the fact that the route thereto was an unnatural one to take, the same cannot be said of the Judaisers, who would naturally follow the more ordinary line of communication leading into Asia. It is contended by Professor Ramsay that "the development and importance of the territory on the northern side of the plateau—*i.e.* Northern Galatia and Northern Phrygia—belong to the period following after 292 A.D., and result from the transference of the centre of government, first to Nicomedia and afterwards to Constantinople. Under the earlier Roman Empire, the southern side of the plateau was far more important than the northern side." This argument, which Professor Ramsay has worked out at length in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, is really a very valuable piece of corroborative evidence. It does not of itself

prove anything to do with the present inquiry absolutely, but it is a strong confirmation of conclusions reached on other grounds.

The present writer has purposely abstained from any attempt to develop this line of argument in this essay, for he does not pretend to have made it his own. But Professor Ramsay's suggested interpretation of τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (an interpretation, be it noticed, derived from an acquaintance with the history of Asia Minor) appeared so natural and likely, that it seemed to have become necessary to examine its bearing on the meaning of Acts xvi. 6 ff. resulting from it. Hence the development of the present essay.

There is yet one more allusion in the Galatian Epistle which has seemed to favour the South Galatian theory. It is said that the use of ὑμᾶς in Galatians ii. 5 points to a South Galatian destination for the Epistle. This is worth examining.

The visit to Jerusalem which forms the subject of the second chapter of the Epistle is difficult to identify with certainty. Professor Ramsay calls this "the greatest historical problem of St. Paul's life." The disputed point is whether this visit to Jerusalem is to be identified with the visit of Acts xi. 30 or with the later one recorded in Acts xv. It is not necessary for our present purpose to discuss this question. A consideration of it is reserved for the Appendix. But we may notice that on either hypothesis the visit to Jerusalem preceded the *second* missionary journey. At that time the churches of Galatia, on the North

Galatian theory, were non-existent; for their foundation was a result of the second journey. So then it is argued that St. Paul could not have spoken of his resistance to the demands of the Judaisers as being "that the truth of the Gospel might continue *with you*" (ἵνα ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ εὐαγγελίου διαμείνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς).

I must candidly confess that I do not feel that this is necessarily correct, for by ὑμᾶς St. Paul may only mean *you Gentiles*. The use of ὑμᾶς need not of necessity imply that the Galatians were already Christianised when the conference at Jerusalem took place. The reference to them as of the number of those for whose benefit St. Paul was contending might be explained by understanding that the Apostle's claims on their behalf were prospective and not yet actual. It was a matter of *principle* that St. Paul was contending for, and not any special converts. He would not have the Gentiles entangled in the yoke of Jewish bondage.

It does not then appear that the use of ὑμᾶς is fatal to the North Galatian theory.

For, again, if it were fatal to the North Galatian theory, it would be equally fatal to the opposite theory if it could be proved independently that the visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal. ii. is to be identified with the visit of Acts xi. 30. Now, it is interesting to observe that Professor Ramsay does so identify it,¹ so that according to him ὑμᾶς is prospectively used even on the South Galatian theory. When, then, in touching on the ὑμᾶς argument as one in favour of the

¹ *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, chap. iii.

South Galatian theory and adverse to the other theory, he says, "This is a good point, though slight,"¹ I must confess he seems to me guilty of inconsistency. I fear lest such inconsistency should retard the acceptance of his South Galatian theory, which, in itself, is a perfectly consistent one, and, as I have tried to show, the correct one.²

¹ *Church in Roman Empire*, p. 101.

² It is much to be regretted that Professor Ramsay tries to prove more than one thing at a time. See Preface to this essay.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CORROBORATIVE EVIDENCE OF ACTS XX. 4.

AT this stage of the argument it may be well, before passing on to investigate the date of the Galatian Epistle (to which inquiry we shall come in the next chapter), to educe an interesting and not unimportant piece of corroborative evidence afforded by the list of names given in Acts xx. 4.¹

But it will be necessary to institute a preliminary inquiry into the dates of three of St. Paul's Epistles. This must not be looked upon as digression; for it is, as will presently appear, a necessary part of the argument.

There can be no reasonable doubt that St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians was written from Ephesus towards the close of his three years' sojourn there on his third missionary journey (Acts xix.). That this Epistle dates from Ephesus is now generally recognised to be a conclusion from St. Paul's own statement in the Epistle: "I will tarry (or *am tarry-*

¹ It is hardly necessary to acknowledge how writers subsequent to Paley are indebted to him for his *Horæ Paulinæ*.

ing, ἐπιμένω) at Ephesus until Pentecost; for a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries" (1 Cor. xvi. 8, 9). That these words do not point to an *intended* visit to Ephesus still in the future, in the same way that the words "I do pass through Macedonia" (*Μακεδονίαν γὰρ διέρχομαι*, 1 Cor. xvi. 5) express only a future intention of the Apostle in regard to Macedonia, seems clear from an earlier reference in the Epistle, where St. Paul speaks of his "fighting with beasts at Ephesus";¹ an expression which shows him to be already there.

And as the Epistle dates from Ephesus, the three years' stay there recorded in Acts xix. seems to be the only likely occasion when the Epistle could have been written, for the Apostle's visit to that city on the second journey was very short. Further, that the three years' stay was drawing to a close is suggested by St. Paul's expressed intention of shortly leaving the city to visit Achaia by way of Macedonia—an intention which is also recorded in Acts xix. 21.

It is fortunate then that so close an approximation to the date of the first Epistle to Corinth can be obtained.

Nor is there much difficulty in approximating to the time when the second Epistle was written. For, from the contents of this Epistle we can gather that it was written not long after the first, and that it was the result of the information brought by Titus as to the effect produced by the first Epistle on the Corinthian Church. That St. Paul had awaited news

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 32.

of the effect produced by his letter with anxiety is clear from his words in 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13: "Now when I came to Troas for the Gospel of Christ, and when a door was opened unto me in the Lord, I had no relief for my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave of them, I went forth into Macedonia." Here the relief came, as the following verses imply, but not at once; for in 2 Cor. vii. 5 ff. we read: "For even when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no relief, but we were afflicted on every side; without were fightings, within were fears. Nevertheless He that comforteth the lowly, even God, comforted us by the coming of Titus; and not by his coming only, but also by the comfort wherewith he was comforted in you, while he told us your longing, your mourning, your zeal for me; so that I rejoiced yet more."

The relating of these personal experiences on the part of the Apostle brings clearly before us the circumstances of the writing of the second Epistle. After despatching the first Epistle, St. Paul had concluded his stay at Ephesus, possibly abruptly, and had then gone to Troas, where he hoped to meet Titus with news of the Corinthians. Titus was not there; and the suspense endured by the Apostle was greater than he could bear. He left Troas in spite of the fact that "a door was opened" to him there, and crossed to Macedonia, where, after further anxiety on the Apostle's part, Titus at length met him. Relieved in part, though still weighed down by care, as the Epistle itself shows, St. Paul wrote the second Epistle to the Corinthians.

Both Epistles to Corinth then were compositions of the third missionary journey. So also was the Epistle to the Romans, as the following considerations show.

From the second Epistle to the Corinthians we learn that, at the time that letter was written, there was going on in the churches of St. Paul's founding a collection of alms intended for the poor Christian Jews in Jerusalem. That the collection was one already in progress is shown by St. Paul's words in 2 Cor. ix. 1, 2: "For as touching the ministering to the saints (τῆς διακονίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους), it is superfluous for me to write to you: for I know your readiness, of which I glory on your behalf to them of Macedonia, that Achaia hath been prepared *for a year past*." And that the offering was meant for Jerusalem is made clear by a previous reference to this collection in the *first* Epistle to Corinth (xvi. 1): "Now concerning the collection for the saints (περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁγίους), as I gave order to the churches of Galatia, so also do ye. Upon the first day of the week let each one of you lay by him in store, as he may prosper, that no collections be made when I come. And when I arrive, whomsoever ye shall approve by letters, them will I send *to carry your bounty unto Jerusalem*: and if it be meet for me to go also, they shall go with me."

We know further that St. Paul afterwards decided that it *was* meet for him to go to Jerusalem; and we find him writing to the Romans (xv. 25, 26): "But now I go unto Jerusalem, ministering unto the saints (διακονῶν τοῖς ἁγίοις). For it hath been the good pleasure of Macedonia and Achaia to make a

certain contribution (*κοινωνίαν*) for the poor among the saints that are at Jerusalem."

It is not likely that any one will question that the *κοινωνία* here spoken of is in effect the same as the *διακονία* of 2 Cor. ix. 1, for the identification is secured by the words *διακονῶν τοῖς ἁγίοις*. Further, both in 1 Corinthians and Romans the contribution is one intended for the "saints" in Jerusalem.

We may then assume that all three Epistles are dealing with the same *collection*, or *ministering*, or *bounty*; and we see then how the expressed intention of St. Paul in writing to the Romans to go now (*νυνί*) to Jerusalem fixes the Roman Epistle later than 2 Corinthians. Whether it was written from Corinth or not, it too is a composition of the third missionary journey.

But we may further lay it down as all but proved that the Roman Epistle was written from Corinth itself. For, as Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam have argued,¹ "The bearer of the Epistle appears to be one Phoebe who is an active, perhaps an official, member of the Church of Cenchreae, the harbour of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 1). The house in which St. Paul is staying, which is also the meeting place of the local church, belongs to Gaius (Rom. xvi. 23); and a Gaius St. Paul had baptized at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14). He sends a greeting also from Erastus,² who is described as 'oeconomus' or 'treasurer' of the city. The office is of some importance, and points to a city of some importance. This would agree with Corinth; and just at

¹ See "Romans" in *International Critical Commentary*, p. xxxvii.

² Rom. xvi. 23.

Corinth we learn from 2 Tim. iv. 20 that an Erastus was left behind on St. Paul's latest journey—naturally enough if it was his home."

What we have so far said is necessary for our present argument, and much of it will be useful in a later chapter when we come to discuss the date of Galatian Epistle. But the dating of that Epistle has nothing to do with us now. That remains an open question.

Returning then to the "collection for the poor saints," we may remark now on (1) the Area over which the collection was made, (2) the Way in which it was made, and (3) the Conditions of its Conveyance to Jerusalem.

1. *The Area over which the collection was made.* We might suppose from the Epistle to the Romans that the contribution came only from Macedonia and Achaia. For St. Paul makes mention only of them when he says: "For it hath been the good pleasure of Macedonia and Achaia to make a certain contribution for the poor among the saints that are at Jerusalem."¹ But it is clear from St. Paul's words to the Corinthians (xvi. 1), that it was part of his original intention that the churches of Galatia should contribute; for he writes: "Now concerning the collection for the saints, as I gave order to the churches of Galatia so also do ye." There is no mention, however, anywhere in the three Epistles of contributions actual or intended from Asia. But it would be most unreasonable to assume

¹ Rom. xv. 26.

from this that Asia was not asked. For St. Paul was in Asia when he first wrote to the Corinthians about the collection, and he had then already given orders in the churches of Galatia respecting it. We, therefore, could not argue that because Asia is not mentioned by name, it was not asked. On the contrary it is inconceivable that Asia should not be asked. And, being asked, was Asia likely to refuse? If it be thought that for any reason or other the churches of Galatia might fail to contribute at the last, is it likely, or is it reasonable to suggest that the explanation of St. Paul's silence about Asia and Galatia in Rom. xv. 26 is that *both* failed to send contributions? A very simple explanation of the mention of only Macedonia and Achaia would be that the Apostle had already when he wrote to Rome got the offerings of these churches together, that he knew the result of their collection, for he had passed through Macedonia to come to Achaia, but that he did not yet know what Asia and Galatia had contributed. There seems to be in the Apostle's words, *ἡνδόκησαν γὰρ Μακεδονία καὶ Ἀχαΐα κοινωνίαν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, an expression of satisfaction at the readiness with which Macedonia and Achaia had responded to the appeal for alms.

We conclude then from these three Epistles that Macedonia and Achaia were asked and contributed, and that Galatia was asked to contribute. Whether Galatia refused we cannot tell, nor whether Asia was even asked can we tell. But St. Paul's words in the Epistle to the Romans need not mean that Galatia and Asia both failed to send contributions.

2. *The Way in which the collection was made.* We have an insight into this in the latter part of the eighth chapter of the second Epistle to the Corinthians. We gather from this section (vv. 16 to 24) that St. Paul was sending to Corinth Titus, who is mentioned by name, along with one whom, without naming, he describes as "the brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the churches; and not only so, but who was also appointed by the churches to travel with us in the matter of this grace (ἐν τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ, yet another word for the διακονία) which is ministered by us to the glory of the Lord." And along with these two the Apostle sends yet another whom he describes as "our brother, whom we have many times proved earnest in many things, but now much more earnest by reason of the great confidence which he hath in you."

These three then St. Paul is sending to Corinth, carefully commending them to the church as trustworthy. "Whether any inquire about Titus, he is my partner (κοινωνός) and fellow-worker to you-ward (εἰς ὑμᾶς συνεργός); or our brethren, they are messengers of the churches (ἀπόστολοι¹ ἐκκλησιῶν), the glory of Christ." To them, therefore, are the Corinthians exhorted to give "proof of their love," and of the Apostle's "glorying on their behalf."

What is meant by these expressions the ninth chapter makes abundantly clear. St. Paul had been "glorying" to them of Macedonia, that Achaia had been prepared for a year past in regard to the ministering to the saints (2 Cor. ix. 1, 2). He asks the Cor-

¹ *Delegates* we might say.

inthians to justify this glorying. So then we conclude that Titus and the two brethren are being sent to collect the Corinthian offering for the saints at Jerusalem.

It is not impossible that it was for a similar purpose that Timothy was sent with Erastus to Macedonia. These two, being as St. Luke says in Acts xix. 22 *δύο τῶν διακονούντων αὐτῷ*, did St. Paul send to Macedonia shortly before he himself was to leave Asia. And it seems probable from 1 Cor. xvi. 10 that the Apostle had originally intended Timothy to go on to Corinth from Macedonia, but that there was some doubt whether he would get as far. It is certainly worth noticing that the mention of Timothy in this passage occurs just after the instructions respecting the "collection for the saints." That Timothy did go to Corinth ultimately we know, for he sends salutations to Rome (Rom. xvi. 21), and that he went with St. Paul himself is also probable, for he was with the Apostle when he wrote the second Epistle to the Corinthians (2 Cor. i. 1).

It would seem then that the collection of the alms was done by duly accredited persons sent by the Apostle for that purpose. In the case of Corinth we see that two of those sent had already been chosen by the churches to carry the alms to Jerusalem. But we need not suppose that only those chosen by the churches collected the alms, for Titus does not seem to have been an *ἀπόστολος ἐκκλησιῶν* as were the other two brethren in 2 Cor. viii. 23.

3. *The Condition of the Conveyance of the collection to Jerusalem.* We learn from 1 Cor. xvi. 3 that the

Apostle's intention before he left Ephesus was to allow the churches (for presumably his intention was the same for all) to choose their own representatives to carry their bounty to Jerusalem. At that time it was uncertain whether the Apostle would go with them in person. But whether he went himself or not, there were to be representatives of the churches.

We can see the reason that prompted the Apostle to adopt this plan of having chosen representatives, underlying his own words in 2 Cor. viii. 20; where he says that he is careful to avoid "that any man should blame us in the matter of this bounty which is ministered by us: for we take thought for things honourable, not only in the sight of the Lord but also in the sight of men." He would have the churches know and feel that their bounty was ministered according to the purpose for which it was offered. There should be no opportunity for suspicion of any misapplication of the great offering of the Gentiles to their Jewish brethren.¹

Now it is a remarkable fact that though in the Acts of the Apostles we have no direct reference to this great and important *διακονία*, yet we have an interesting confirmation of some of the details we have gleaned from the three Epistles of the third missionary journey in the list of names given in Acts xx. 4. We may reasonably expect to find, now that we know St. Paul's desire that the *διακονία* should be

¹ For the importance attaching to this offering, see Romans xv. 30-32. See Hort on this in *Prolegomena to Romans*, pp. 39 ff. See also an article in *The Expositor*, 1893, by Mr. F. Rendall on "The Pauline collection for the Saints."

ministered in Jerusalem by those chosen by the churches who had contributed towards it, that the list of names of those who returned with him to Jerusalem will be representative of these churches. And our contention is that such is in fact the case.

It will be well to quote the passage in Acts xx.4, 5. "And there accompanied him¹ Sopater of Beroea, the son of Pyrrhus; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe and Timothy; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. But these came to meet us (*προσελθόντες*), and waited for us at Troas."

When we examine this list we find representatives from Macedonia, from Southern Galatia, and from Asia, but none from Achaia. Now the absence of any names connected with Achaia is easily accounted for. For St. Paul was himself returning from Greece *via* Macedonia (Acts xx. 2, 3), and the representatives from Achaia would naturally be with him. And this supposition is confirmed by the words of St. Luke's narrative: "And we sailed away from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came unto them to Troas in five days." The pronoun of the first person (*ἡμεῖς*) here discloses the fact that St. Luke, at any rate, was with St. Paul. And if it be the case that the brother, whose praise in the gospel was spread through all the churches, and who was appointed by the churches to travel with the Apostle and others in the matter of the ministering to the saints, is St. Luke, as tradition declares it is, we have a perfectly clear explanation of why no Achæan representatives are included in the list of Acts xx. 4. For this

¹ For the omission of ἀχρί τῆς Ἀσίας, see W. H.

“brother” had, as we have seen from 2 Cor. viii., been sent to Corinth with Titus and another “brother,” and so naturally any representatives from Achaia would come along with them. It is not here suggested that St. Luke represented Achaia. On the contrary, it would be more reasonable to suppose that he represented Philippi, seeing that he was with St. Paul on the second missionary journey, and it was there St. Paul left him, as is clearly shown by the cessation of the first personal pronoun in Acts xvii. 1.

It may reasonably be objected that we have not accounted for the fact that Timothy and Sopater, who are among those who waited at Troas, had been with St. Paul at Corinth when he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, as we see to be the case from Rom. xvi. 21 (if, indeed, we may identify *Σωσίπατρος* of Romans with the *Σώπατρος Πύρρον Βεροιαῖος* of Acts xx. 4).¹ But I must confess I see no difficulty in this at all. We learn from Acts xx. 3 that St. Paul’s original intention had been to go from Achaia to Syria, but that he altered his plans in consequence of the discovery of a plot against him on the part of the Jews. Someone then would have to inform the Asiatic delegates of this change of plan, and what more natural than that Timothy and others should go across to give this information, and then go on with the delegates they had informed to Troas to meet the Apostle? But there would be still some of the

¹ It is not necessary to discuss whether this identity holds. It is at any rate true that Timothy was at Corinth, and yet afterwards he was at Troas awaiting the Apostle.

delegates with St. Paul, including, as we think, those from Achaia; for he would not, of course, travel through Macedonia unaccompanied. That Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica were already at Troas does not seem to interfere with our theory. For when St. Paul came through Macedonia on his way to Achaia he did not expect to return that way, and he would naturally arrange for the Macedonian delegates who were not accompanying him into Greece to meet him somewhere. And it would be quite natural for these from Thessalonica to cross to Troas with the intention of afterwards coming to Ephesus (or Miletus), where St. Paul would have touched even if he had sailed for Syria from Cenchreae, as he did at the end of his second missionary journey (Acts xviii. 18, 19).

I think there can be little doubt that the impression left on the mind by an ordinary reader reading Acts xx. 4, 5, 6 is that St. Paul's whole party consisted of two detachments. Those named in verse 4 were already waiting at Troas.¹ They had gone to Troas to be joined by St. Paul there. *συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ* is perfectly general. It seems to mean—Here is a list of those who accompanied the Apostle or who were intending (or *were ready*) to accompany him, for such might be the force of the imperfect. (Compare St. Luke i. 59, *ἐκάλουν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζαχαρίαν*.) And then follow the names with

¹ Professor Ramsay (and also Mr. F. Rendall) makes *οἱ* of v. 5 refer only to Tychicus and Trophimus, but I do not so understand the passage. It is not easy with Professor Ramsay's reading of the passage to account for the Asiatic delegates going to Troas at all. How did they know they were to go there? It could not be part of the original plan. See *St. Paul the Traveller*, etc., p. 287.

an explanation that those named were only those who had gone to Troas and were there waiting. The other detachment was with St Paul himself. No names are given, because St. Luke himself was among them, and he never mentions his own name. But seeing that in verses 2 and 3 he has already explained that St. Paul is coming from Greece (*via* Macedonia because of a plot against him on the part of the Jews), we understand that *ἡμεῖς* need not only mean St. Paul and St Luke, but that it naturally includes all representatives from Achaia.

I have assumed that the true text is without *ἀχρὶ τῆς Ἀσίας*. I must candidly confess I can make no sense of the passage if these words are inserted. It is fortunate that we know for certain that Trophimus and Aristarchus, whose names are in the list, went to Palestine; for we can glean this fact from Acts xxi. 29, xxvii. 2. It seems then reasonable to conclude that the list of xx. 4 gives the names of those who were to accompany St. Paul to Jerusalem, and not simply *ἀχρὶ τῆς Ἀσίας*, for these words find no place in **SB**.¹

So then we find accompanying the Apostle representatives of the churches of Macedonia, of Asia, of Southern Galatia, and (we think) of Achaia too. But what about North Galatia? From there we have no

¹ It will be noticed that the reading *προσελθόντες* makes excellent sense. For these did not precede (*προελθόντες*) St. Paul; they came to meet him probably from Ephesus. Blass adopts the reading *προελθόντες*, and arbitrarily remarks that *προσελθόντες* of **ΣΑΒΕ**, etc. is corrupt. On the other hand, W. H. retain *προσελθόντες* in text.

representatives. Yet the churches of Galatia were to be included in the great *διακονία*. There seems to me only one natural conclusion; that is that Gaius of Derbe and Timothy were the representatives of the churches of Galatia, and that those churches were the churches of Antioch and Iconium, of Lystra and Derbe.

Those who have already made up their minds that the list in Acts xx. 4 does not contain a list of the delegates of the churches will be ready with objections to our contention that it does. I can foresee that it may be objected that Timothy could not be a delegate from Galatia because he did not come from Galatia, having been in Macedonia and Achaia. But it must be clearly understood that it is not necessary, in order to his being a representative of Galatia, that he should just now have come from there. That the churches of Galatia should have chosen him to represent them long ago when the collection was set on foot is in itself not impossible. And it is to be noticed that it was not necessary that only delegates of the churches should collect the alms. This we have argued above. The churches elected their representatives to see the ministration properly carried out at Jerusalem, but not to make the collection. It may have been a pure accident that the two brethren sent with Titus to Corinth to collect the church's alms were also *ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν*. They were not at any rate *ἀπόστολοι* of the church of Corinth; else would not St. Paul's commendation of them have been necessary. St.

Paul does not send them to Corinth for the purpose of collecting because they were ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν, but because they were worthy of trust.

It will be well to draw attention to the fact that, even if the argument of this chapter be entirely overthrown, and the South Galatian theory be deprived of this piece of corroborative evidence in its favour, such loss to the one theory will be no real gain to the other. For on no account can Acts xx. 4 tell in favour of the North Galatian theory, whose advocates, if they would upset the other theory, must show the reasoning of the earlier chapters of this book to be fallacious.

The argument respecting the Destination of the Epistle to the Galatians is now concluded. In the next chapter the discussion of its Date will be begun.

CHAPTER VII.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE DATE OF THE EPISTLE DERIVED FROM STATEMENTS FOUND THEREIN.

HAVING so far given reasons for agreeing with Professor Ramsay's interpretation of the "Phrygo-Galatian region," and having given a ready adherence to the South Galatian theory, the arguments for which, it may reasonably be hoped, have been strengthened by the analysis which has been made of Acts xvi. 6, the writer regrets that he must now join issue with the Professor, and place himself in direct opposition to him in regard to the Date and place of origin of the Epistle to the Galatians.

And first it will be well to state clearly that the acceptance of the South Galatian theory does not in itself carry with it acceptance of any particular theory as to the Date of the Epistle. The present writer would indeed be in a predicament if, by admitting the South Galatian theory to be true, he were committed to Professor Ramsay's views as to the Antiochene origin of the Epistle. For if he is convinced, as he acknowledges he is, that the "Churches of Galatia" were the churches of Lystra and Derbe, of Iconium

and Antioch, he is none the less convinced that the Epistle addressed to these churches does not date from Syrian Antioch. He proposes in the following pages to give his reasons for dissenting from Professor Ramsay, and for agreeing in regard to this point with Bishop Lightfoot.

The best method of treatment of the subject will be, not to give the two theories as given by the Professor and the Bishop, but to examine the question in an independent manner, making use of their arguments as occasion shall require and acknowledging indebtedness to their assistance. The reader who wishes for information as to their respective points of view will find Bishop Lightfoot's case set forth in his Essay on *The Date of the Epistle*, in his published Commentary; and Professor Ramsay's will be found in his *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, chapter viii., and in several numbers of *The Expositor*, dating from June, 1898. This much premised, we proceed to the subject in hand.

In endeavouring to determine the Date of the Epistle to the Galatians we do not so much seek for the figures of the year in which it was written as for its place relatively to other Epistles of St. Paul. And the data we have for forming an opinion on this point are (1) the contents of the Epistles, including of course their style and diction, and (2) St. Luke's outline of St. Paul's missionary labours contained in the Acts of the Apostles. It will be well to insist at once on this point that we have no other sources from

which to draw. Even if we make use of the opinions of other writers in endeavouring to form our own we must yet remember that we have no *authorities* other than these two. The conclusions of critics and historians and theologians are only of value in so far as they help us to understand and make use of these authorities. In this, as in so many other things, the precept holds good: πάντα δοκιμάζετε. Everyone has a right to an opinion who is content to support it by an appeal to the Acts and Epistles; and that opinion will ultimately prevail which takes proper account of all the data these authorities supply. This is, of course, quite commonplace, but it is important all the same. The authority of great names can never be a substitute for ultimate authority.

We naturally turn first of all to the Galatian Epistle itself, and inquire whether there is contained in it any mention of matters of fact, about which we have other information, or from which conclusions can reasonably be drawn.

We have then first the fact of the Galatian apostasy, described in words which show that it had come as a surprise to St. Paul (Gal. i. 6). θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ εἰς ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, κ.τ.λ., *I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from Him that called you in the grace of Christ unto a different Gospel.* "So quickly removing." Oh! then the Epistle must have been written soon after the conversion of the Galatians and the founding of the Galatian Churches.

So we might be inclined to assume, but this would be very hasty criticism. "So quickly"—so quickly after what? After their conversion? The Apostle does not say so. The sudden defection of which he complained, and at which he marvels, may for anything we can tell have taken place years after their first acceptance of the Gospel. Say these Galatians have proved false to St. Paul's teaching, and have welcomed the Judaisers in their efforts to supplant the Apostle of the Gentiles, and that this has taken place ten years after their first conversion to Christ; yet, if St. Paul had known but a little time before that they were still true to what he had taught them, however long ago it was since they first believed it, and then became informed that they had become false and had welcomed the Judaizing teachers, might he not say: "How quickly ye are removing from Him that called you in the grace of Christ unto a different Gospel"?

Bishop Lightfoot says in discussing this: "Here the point of time from which he reckons is obviously the time of their conversion, not the time of his second visit."¹ But it is not at all obvious. If a man dies suddenly, we need not assume that he has only just been born! We understand by "sudden death," an unexpected death. And it does not seem at all necessary to understand *ταχέως* in any other sense than *suddenly, rapidly, hastily*.² Needless to say the words ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. depend on the verb μετατίθεσθε, and we must not allow ourselves to suppose that, because there is here spoken of a sudden defection from Him that called them, therefore this

¹ *Galatians*, p. 42.

² Cf. *ταχὴν ἀπώλειαν* in 2 Pet. ii. 1.

defection takes place soon after the call. There does not seem any necessary suggestion of this in St. Paul's words.

Nor does it seem that Lightfoot's interpretation of οὕτως ταχέως in reference to the time since the conversion of the Galatians is calculated to improve his own argument. He gets over the difficulty that he creates for himself by saying that quickness and slowness are relative terms, and that the rapidity of a change is measured by the importance of the interests at stake. The mistake, so it would seem, is caused by his rendering of οὕτως ταχέως as *so soon*,¹ which suggests a comparison with some other time, whereas no such comparison is necessarily involved in ταχέως.

That ταχέως is used with a *future* reference as equivalent to our English *soon* is clear from such passages as 1 Cor. iv. 19 (ἐλεύσομαι δὲ ταχέως πρὸς ὑμᾶς), Phil. ii. 19 (ἐλπίζω δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ Τιμόθεον ταχέως πέμψαι ὑμῖν), Phil. ii. 24 (πέποιθα δὲ ἐν Κυρίῳ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ταχέως ἐλεύσομαι), 2 Tim. iv. 9 (σπούδασον ἐλθεῖν πρὸς με ταχέως). But that there is not necessarily inherent in the word any comparison with another point of time, present or past, is shown by St. Luke xiv. 21 (ἔξελθε ταχέως εἰς τὰς πλατείας καὶ ῥύμας τῆς πόλεως), St. Luke xvi. 6 (καθίσας ταχέως γράψον πεντήκοντα), St. John xi. 31 (ὅτι ταχέως ἀνέστη καὶ ἐξῆλθεν), 2 Thess. ii. 2 (εἰς τὸ μὴ ταχέως σαλευθῆναι), and 1 Tim. v. 22 (χείρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει).

But I cannot agree with Professor Ramsay that

¹ *Galatians*, p. 42, with footnote. In his note on i. 6 Lightfoot speaks in favour of the other meaning for which we plead.

there is anything "strange" in Bishop Lightfoot's understanding of οὕτως ταχέως as *so soon after your conversion*.¹ If there is implied in οὕτως ταχέως a comparison with some independent point of time, so that the words mean *so soon after* something or other, we must allow that they may mean *soon after their conversion*, particularly as the context refers back to their first call in the words depending on μετατίθεσθε, viz. ἀπὸ τοῦ καλέσαντος ὑμᾶς κ.τ.λ. Moreover, Lightfoot's interpretation is the less strange as he is careful to guard his meaning by saying that "the rapidity of a change is measured by the importance of the interests at stake." And he says: "I cannot think it strange that the Apostle, speaking of truths destined to outlive the life of kingdoms and of nations, should complain that his converts had *so soon* deserted from the faith, even though a whole decade of years might have passed since they were first brought to the knowledge of Christ."²

Professor Ramsay himself interprets οὕτως ταχέως to mean *so soon after St. Paul's second visit*.³ But why? Why not shortly after a third visit? There is nothing in the context certainly to suggest any particular visit. I cannot see that the Professor has given any reason for reading *after my . . . visit* into the words οὕτως ταχέως. In *St. Paul the Traveller*, a few pages before he speaks of Lightfoot's interpretation of οὕτως ταχέως as strange, he states that the Galatian defection did take place shortly after St. Paul's second visit, but I cannot there find any reason

¹ See *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 189.

² *Galatians*, p. 42.

³ *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 189.

for it. He writes on p. 182: "Soon after Paul left the province of Galatia, there came to it missionaries of the Judaizing party, who taught the Galatian Churches to take that view of the Apostolic Decree which we have described on p. 172 f." Now, let it be observed that Professor Ramsay states this as a matter of fact. He does not even qualify his statement by saying that this was *probably* the case. He says it was so, and he gives this as the explanation of something else unexplained, viz. why no mention is made in St. Paul's letters of the decrees of the Jerusalem Council!

The only explanation I can find for Professor Ramsay's suggestion that οὕτως ταχέως means 'so soon after St. Paul's second visit' is that he is convinced that when the Epistle to the Galatians was written, the Apostle had only visited the Galatians twice. I find this stated by him in *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 108. And doubtless his reason for this is his understanding of τὸ πρότερον in Gal. iv. 13, which he takes to mean *on the former visit*, implying that there had been two and only two visits.

But then it is unfortunate for Professor Ramsay that τὸ πρότερον is capable of bearing another meaning. Why may it not mean, as in St. John vi. 62, ix. 8, 1 Tim. i. 13, simply *formerly*? Bishop Lightfoot, in his note on Gal. iv. 13, allows the possibility of that meaning here, but doubts its probability on the ground that there seems to be here no direct and emphatic reference to some later point of time. Reasons have already been given in the last chapter but one (pp. 73 ff.) for dissenting from this, and it is

needless to repeat them here. It is there argued that there is an emphatic contrast between *formerly* and *now*, though the latter *word* does not actually occur in the passage. The context implies it.

It is interesting further to notice that the Revisers have not thought it necessary to translate τὸ πρότερον *on the former occasion*, but have in the text given *the first time*, relegating *former* to the margin. This is now mentioned not for the purpose of defending it, for it is doubtful whether it ought to be defended, but in order that attention may be drawn to the fact that at any rate the Revisers as a body were not convinced that the words τὸ πρότερον would tie an interpreter down to the sense of *former*, to the exclusion of more than two visits. This may, or may not, be tenable.

It must be acknowledged that it is, to say the least, unsatisfactory to base a whole argument on a particular interpretation of a phrase which is all the while capable of a different interpretation. I objected in the last chapter but one to the use of τὸ πρότερον as an argument for the North Galatian theory, and the objection applies now to its being used for determining the Date of the Epistle. It is to be feared that the interpretation of τὸ πρότερον to mean *on the former visit* has affected the views of both Bishop Lightfoot and Professor Ramsay, the one in regard to the Locality of the churches of Galatia, the other in regard to its Date. Thus Bishop Lightfoot seeing (rightly as I think, and as I shall presently argue) that the Galatian Epistle must be placed after the second to the Corinthians and before the Epistle to the Romans, about the date of which two Epistles there cannot be much reasonable

doubt, was confirmed in his North Galatian view by the fact that, as he thought, the words *τὸ πρότερον* pointed to the exact number of *two* visits to the Galatians (not to say Galatia) before the writing of the Epistle; whereas on the South Galatian theory there would be three visits. And Professor Ramsay, already assured that the South Galatian theory was the correct one, has now, partly to give the words *τὸ πρότερον* the same meaning as Lightfoot gave them, and partly doubtless for other converging reasons which it might be hard to analyse, laid it down that the Epistle dates from Antioch. This means that St. Paul wrote the Epistle before and not during his third missionary journey. For, of course, on the South Galatian theory, after Ephesus was once reached on the third journey, the churches of Galatia had been visited *three* times by St. Paul, the occasion of their founding being counted as one of the three.

I do not think, then, that we can get any assistance towards determining the Date of the Epistle from the statements of the Epistle contained in i. 6 and iv. 13 on account of the uncertainty in the meaning of *οὕτως ταχέως* and *τὸ πρότερον*. At the same time the sudden defection spoken of is a point to be borne in mind. It must be used as a check to conclusions which may be reached by other means. It will be reasonable presently to ask whether the Date we assign to the Epistle on other grounds fits in with the possibility of a sudden defection of which St. Paul could have had information. The words *τὸ πρότερον* seem to me absolutely neutral.

So far, then, we have got no real assistance from the Epistle for dating it. Nor can anything of value be had from the allusions made by St. Paul in the first and second chapters to events in his own life and Apostolate. For the problem presented by chapter ii. is in itself one of extreme difficulty, for there is such a decided difference of opinion as to whether the visit to Jerusalem there spoken of is to be identified with that of Acts xv. or with the earlier one of Acts xi. 30.¹ Bishop Lightfoot takes the former view, Professor Ramsay the latter. In view of this difference of opinion, it would be illogical to make any use of either special interpretation of the chapter to determine the Date of the Epistle. For exactly this reason in the fifth chapter we would not allow any argument derived from a special identification of this visit, in order to decide the Locality of the churches of Galatia, to have any weight. Any conclusion arrived at as the result of an acceptance of one of the two ways of looking at the question would not be convincing to one who took the opposite view, and so the argument would be nothing advanced. Fortunately there are other means of approximating to the Date of the Epistle, nor does it seem that Gal. ii. on either identification can in any way contribute towards its confirmation or the contrary, nor itself be elucidated by the knowledge of the time at which the Epistle was written. This visit to Jerusalem remains a problem by itself, and had better be kept distinct from other questions.

¹ This identification is discussed in the Appendix.

We come next to incidental expressions found in the Epistle. First there are the words in the salutation at the beginning of the Epistle οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί. Here is Professor Ramsay's comment on these words: "The phrase, 'all the brethren which are with me,' arrests our attention. Paul wrote in some place where there was a considerable body of Christians; and we may confidently say that that implies one or other of the cities where there were churches. The words used by Dr. Zöckler to describe the situation in which Paul wrote are so good, that we may leave it to him to express what is implied in this phrase. As he has been so prominent an adversary of the South Galatian theory, no one will be able to charge me with straining Paul's words to suit my own view." Professor Ramsay then quotes from Dr. Zöckler: "The whole body of fellow-Christians who were with him at the time in Ephesus¹ (not merely his more prominent helpers) are mentioned by St. Paul as those who join with him in greeting the Galatians. He does this in order to give the more emphasis to what he has to say to them. He writes indeed with his own hand (vi. 13) but in the name of a whole great Christianity community. The warnings and exhortations which are to be addressed to the Galatians go forth from a body whose authority cannot be lightly regarded."²

¹ There is here a footnote by Prof. Ramsay. "Dr. Zöckler names 'Ephesus' here, without hesitation, conformably to his theory, which is the commonly received view among North Galatian critics." That the Epistle dates from Ephesus is *not* the commonly received view among North Galatian critics in this country at any rate.

² *Expositor*, June, 1898.

Then after a paragraph in which Professor Ramsay sets forth, not without illustrations of his statement, that in general St. Paul mentions in the preliminary address of his letters only "persons who stood in some close and authoritative relation to the community addressed," he goes on to say: "The Church which here addresses the Galatians, therefore, is one which was closely connected with them, whose opinion would carry weight among them, one which could add impressiveness even to a letter of Paul's." There are, according to Professor Ramsay, only two such churches; the one is Jerusalem, the other Antioch. Jerusalem is out of the question, therefore it was Antioch, which is "from every point of view specially suitable and impressive."

In juxtaposition with this assertion of Professor Ramsay's we may place Bishop Lightfoot's suggestion that "the greeting from 'all the brethren which are with me' seems naturally to apply to the little band of his fellow-travellers, and to hint that the letter was not despatched from any of the great churches [of Macedonia or Achaia]"¹ and, therefore, of course, not from the great Church of Antioch.

We see, then, that Professor Ramsay's interpretation of the phrase *οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί* is the direct contrary of that given by Bishop Lightfoot. And it is reasonable to suppose that Professor Ramsay had read Lightfoot's reasons for interpreting *οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ* as he does. Yet we find no answer to these, but only a counter statement. Professor Ramsay's reasoning, if reasoning it can be called, is purely *à priori*;

¹ *Galatians*, p. 55.

Lightfoot's is, on the contrary, deductive. For he has been careful to point out that in the only other place in St. Paul's Epistles in which the phrase *οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί* occurs, namely Philippians iv. 21, "the brethren who are with him" are mentioned separately and as distinguished from the Christians in Rome whence he was writing. Thus we have *ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί. ἀσπάζονται ὑμᾶς πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Καίσαρος οἰκίας* (Phil. iv. 21, 22). Says Lightfoot (note on Phil. iv. 21): "Apparently the Apostle's personal companions and fellow travellers are meant, as distinguished from the Christians resident in Rome who are described in the following verse."

But if Professor Ramsay contends that in the salutation of Galatians the word *all* in some way alters the meaning of the phrase *οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ ἀδελφοί*, we should certainly question his right so to do, for the very position of *πάντες* in St. Paul's phrase is against such a contention. The order of the words is: *Those with me all brethren*; that is, *my companions all of them brethren*.

It is only fair to Professor Ramsay to say that the paragraph in which he contends that in general St. Paul mentions in the preliminary address of his letters "only persons who stood in some close and authoritative relation to the community addressed" is based on deductive reasoning; for he illustrates his point by reference to the salutation of 1 Corinthians, in which Sosthenes is mentioned by name; 2 Corinthians, Colossians, and Philemon, where Timothy is

mentioned; and the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, where Silvanus and Timothy join in addressing the Thessalonians. But it may reasonably be questioned whether in any one of these cases the mention of another is meant to *add weight* to St. Paul's words. And, certainly, to take the special case of the Epistle to the Galatians, it is a straining of the whole argument of the Epistle to say that in any way the Apostle makes use of any authority but his own. The whole Epistle points exactly the other way. Take such an expression as that in the second verse of the fifth chapter, *Behold I Paul say unto you that if ye receive circumcision, Christ will profit you nothing.* He says ἐγὼ Παῦλος, not ἐγὼ Παῦλος καὶ οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί. *I, Paul*, on my authority, not "I, Paul, backed by the church in Antioch."

Bishop Lightfoot, on the contrary, rightly saw that the view of patristic writers and modern commentators, who found in the expression οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί a desire on the part of the Apostle to fortify his teaching by the sanction of others, would not hold. "The Apostle, in fact, dismisses the mention of his companions as rapidly as possible in one general expression."¹

When, then, Professor Ramsay says that we may "confidently" argue that the phrase οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί implies one or other of the cities where there were churches, we reply that we have no such confidence, and that those intended by the phrase were more likely St. Paul's "companions in travel." If St. Paul wrote from one of the great churches he did not certainly

¹ *Galatians*, note on i. 2, p. 73.

fortify his position by the authority of such. He did not even send the church's greetings.

We have next to consider the use made by Professor Ramsay of the manner in which Titus is mentioned in the Epistle (see Gal. ii.), as he employs this also to date the Epistle from Antioch. Here are the Professor's words quoted from the *Expositor*, June, 1898: "Titus was evidently unknown to the Galatians. The point of Paul's reference to him turns on his nationality. He is a Greek, and this is carefully explained in ii. 3, so that the readers may not fail to catch the drift of the argument. Had the Galatians known Titus, had he accompanied Paul on a journey and been familiar to them, the explanation would have been unnecessary; and in this Epistle there is not a single unnecessary word."

It is really interesting, not to say amusing, to place by the side of this opinion of Professor Ramsay's that of Dean Howson, as given in the article on Titus in *Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*: "It is to our purpose to remark that, in the passage cited above [that is, mark, the very same passage from which Professor Ramsay has drawn his conclusion], Titus is so mentioned as apparently to imply that he had become personally known to the Galatian Christians."

Thus the two conclusions drawn from the same passage of the Epistle are directly contrary the one to the other. It will be well then to examine what St. Paul really did write about Titus, that we may form some conclusion of our own.

The first mention of Titus in the Galatian Epistle

is in these words: "Then after the space of fourteen years I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas, taking Titus also with me" (Gal. ii. 1). Now I do not think there can be any difference of opinion in regard to this; that if this had been the only mention of Titus in the Epistle, we should have been justified in concluding that he was known to those to whom the Epistle was addressed; if not personally known, at any rate known by name. But this is not the only place where Titus is mentioned. The next time his name occurs, only two verses further on, we have an explanatory clause respecting him. This verse is rendered in the Revised Version: "But not even Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised." St. Paul's own words are, according to this, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, Ἑλλήν ὢν, ἡναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι.

But these words are capable of a different interpretation. We are not bound to put a comma after ἐμοί. What St. Paul meant may have been ἀλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοί Ἑλλήν ὢν ἡναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι. So Bishop Lightfoot reads the passage, and this has much to recommend it. Clearly, then, this verse requires some further considering.

What is the connection of Ἑλλήν ὢν with the rest of the sentence? That is the real question.

First, we may punctuate as Westcott and Hort have done, that is we may supply a comma both before and after Ἑλλήν ὢν. In this case the words Ἑλλήν ὢν would give the reason why Titus was not circumcised. He was not circumcised *because he was a Gentile*.

This, as I understand it, would mean that Titus was *wholly* Gentile, not, like Timothy, of mixed Jewish and Gentile parentage. As Lightfoot says in his note on this verse: "There seems to be a tacit allusion to the case of Timothy. 'You maintain,' St. Paul seems to argue, 'that I allowed the validity of the Mosaic law in circumcising Timothy (Acts xvi. 1-3). But Timothy was half of Jewish parentage. How did I act in the case of Titus, a true Gentile? I did not yield for a moment.'"

Now let us ask: Is there any necessary implication here that Titus was unknown to the Galatians? For my own part I cannot see that there is. For supposing Titus to have already visited the churches of Galatia along with St. Paul, must we necessarily suppose that the Apostle had given it out everywhere he took Titus that he was a Gentile? Was it necessary or even likely? Or even if those to whom the Epistle to the Galatians was addressed knew that Titus was a Gentile, would that make it impossible for St. Paul to insert these words, "Ελλην ὢν? The words might mean no more than "because he was, as you know, a Gentile." We have certainly no right to read into them what Professor Ramsay asks us to understand, "because he was, as you do not know, and as I want to inform you, a Gentile."

But we must inquire whether the interpretation of "Ελλην ὢν given above is the right one. "But not even Titus, who was with me, was compelled to be circumcised, and that because he was a Gentile," is the sense of the verse. Well, then, we ask what is the force of *not even*? We could understand that St. Paul

might write: "But Titus, who was with me, was not compelled to be circumcised, because he was wholly Gentile by parentage." But we have to explain why he said *not even Titus*. I venture to think that the οὐδὲ can only be explained satisfactorily by the following words: ὁ σὺν ἐμοί. *Not even Titus, though he was my companion, was compelled to be circumcised.*¹ For let it be noticed that ὁ σὺν ἐμοί must not be understood as meaning only "who happened to be with me." St. Paul has already said that Titus was with him in writing *συνπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον*. Titus was more than *with* the Apostle. He was his attendant. It might seem, then, that Titus ought to have been circumcised as Timothy had been. For we read in Acts xvi. 3: "Him would Paul have to go forth with him (σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξελθεῖν); and he took and circumcised him because of the Jews that were in those parts; for they all knew that his father was a Greek."² "But," St. Paul is thought to say, "the cases were different. Titus was my companion, it is true, but he was entirely of Gentile extraction, so though he was my companion yet because he was a Gentile,

¹ I cannot but think that the intended meaning of the unfinished sentence of v. 4 was that "because of false brethren, etc., . . . an effort was made to make me concede the point of Titus' circumcision." But no, "though Titus was in close attendance upon me I would not yield the point." The sentence of verse 4 remains unfinished because the very word *ψευδαδέλφους* gives a reason for refusal.

² It is not likely then, as I said above, that had Titus not been known to be a Gentile when visiting the Galatian churches, St. Paul would have thought it well to make the fact known. He only circumcised Timothy because *they knew* that he was partly of Gentile parentage. The words imply that he would not have thought it necessary to tell them if they had not known. Indeed, he would not have circumcised Timothy.

without admixture of Jewish blood, I would not have him circumcised in spite of all efforts to prove me wrong."

But now let us look at the passage otherwise punctuated. Let us read ἄλλ' οὐδὲ Τίτος ὁ σὺν ἐμοὶ Ἑλλήν ὢν ἡναγκάσθη περιτμηθῆναι. We now connect the words Ἑλλήν ὢν more with ὁ σὺν ἐμοὶ than with ἡναγκάσθη. "But not even Titus, who was accompanying me as a Gentile, was compelled to be circumcised." This rendering makes perfectly good sense of the passage, and, exactly because it saves the jarring transition from *though he was my companion* to *because he was a Gentile*, I think it is greatly to be preferred to the one we have considered above. Luther, in his translation has coupled Ἑλλήν ὢν closely with ὁ σὺν ἐμοί, but he has given to the participle ὢν a concessional force. "Aber es ward auch Titus nicht gezwungen sich zu beschneiden, der mit mir war, ob er wohl ein Grieche war." There is really not much difference in the ultimate meaning of the passage whether we take Ἑλλήν ὢν to mean *as a Gentile (being a Gentile)* or *though he were a Gentile*. The point is that Titus was with St. Paul, and he was known to be his companion, and known also to be a Gentile (or, as Luther puts it, he was his companion though he was a Gentile). The sense of the verse now is: "Not even Titus, though he was my companion, and though he was a Gentile, and known to be such, was compelled to be circumcised."

If this be the meaning of the passage, and we think it is, the conclusion cannot be drawn that Titus was

unknown personally to the churches of Galatia. So far from this being the case, the manner of his introduction in the words *συνπαραλαβὼν καὶ Τίτον*, without further immediate explanation, would suggest that he was known.

But it would be better not to assume, in determining the Date of the Epistle, either that Titus was known or that he was unknown. But I expect to find when we have come at the Date in some other way that Titus had already been with St. Paul in the churches of Galatia when the Epistle was written.

I think it will be seen from the above reasoning that it is impossible to determine satisfactorily the Date of the Galatian Epistle from its own statements. In the next Chapter we must approach the question from another point of view.

CHAPTER VIII.

ARGUMENTS FOR THE DATE OF THE EPISTLE DERIVED FROM A COMPARISON OF IT WITH OTHER EPISTLES OF KNOWN DATE.

IN the preceding chapter we have seen how hopeless it is to try to determine the Date of the Epistle to the Galatians by any special interpretation of such ambiguous phrases in it as *οὕτως ταχέως, τὸ πρότερον*, "Ἐλλην ὢν", such expressions as these being capable of bearing different meanings, and there being no consensus of opinion as to which meaning ought to be adopted. Further, we have no information from the Epistle as to who were St. Paul's companions when he wrote. Not one single greeting from any person whose name is mentioned occurs in the Epistle whether at its beginning or at the close. The phrase *οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί* in the opening address is too vague and indeterminate to be of much use. We have decided that the phrase certainly does not justify us in dating the Epistle from any great church, or Christian centre, but neither does it in itself necessarily preclude the possibility that it was written from some such centre. From the Epistle itself and by

itself we can determine nothing certainly, and it will be better to try and approach the problem of the Date in some other way. If a solution can be found, then let such phrases as οὕτως ταχέως, τὸ πρότερον and οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί receive their interpretation accordingly. And then let us see if we have a consistent whole. We shall then have no circular argument, and our conclusions are more likely to win acceptance.

What other way then have we by which we may hope to decide when the Epistle was written? Our immediate answer is: *A comparison of the Epistle with the other Epistles with which it will bear comparison.* Thus, no one will deny the marked similarity in doctrinal statement between the Epistle to the Romans and that to the Galatians. This marked similarity of doctrinal statement extends further to actual uniformity of expressions, which any one can verify for himself. If any one will place side by side parallel passages, as Bishop Lightfoot has done in his argument on the date of the Galatian Epistle,¹ he will not be likely to disagree with the Bishop's conclusion: "It will be unnecessary to add many words on a similarity so great as these passages exhibit. Observe only that it is manifold and various. Sometimes it is found in a train of argument more or less extended, and certainly not obvious: sometimes in close verbal coincidences, where the language and thoughts are unusual, or where a quotation is freely given, and where the coincidence therefore was less to be expected: sometimes in the same application of a text, and the same comment

¹ *Galatians*, p. 45.

upon it, where that application and comment have no obvious reference to the main subject of discussion.”¹

Now, this similarity has to be accounted for. In what ways can this be done? We might say first of all that it is possible that the two Epistles were written almost at the same time (we need not at present discuss which of the two is likely to be the earlier), and we should have, to support us in such a supposition, the fact that two other Pauline Epistles—those to the Ephesians and Colossians respectively, which also exhibit strong similarity of doctrinal teaching and expression—were to our certain knowledge written about the same time, and were despatched by the same messenger.² It would be most reasonable then to try such a hypothesis first of all, and see whereto it would lead us, and whether it would prove consistent with known facts, or whether it was in conflict with statements made in the Galatian Epistle. If we failed to get a consistent theory in this way, we should have to think what other explanations could be given of the striking similarity between the Epistle to the Romans and that to the Galatians. Will any hold that the two Epistles need not have been composed at times separated by only a short interval? Then they must account for the same teaching in both; and not only for that, but also for the marked similarity in expression and argumentative detail. Do any say “St. Paul was an inspired man, and so the same argument expressed in nearly the same words might be revealed to him at different times in his ministry”? If any argue so, we part company with them. Such supernatural inter-

¹ *Galatians*, p. 48. ² Compare Eph. vi. 21, 22, with Col. iv. 7-9.

vention must not be allowed if a natural explanation can be given. We do not deny St. Paul's inspiration (we have not studied his writings with that result), but we have a higher view of it than to think that it was anything so mechanical as this.

But some seem to think that the similarity between the two Epistles is quite possible on natural grounds, even though the interval between them were a fairly long one. This might be so if we had any reason to suppose that St. Paul kept a copy of his letters and made use of what he had written before to compose again. But we venture to think that this is extremely unlikely, though we acknowledge that it is not beyond the bounds of possibility, nor is it "supernatural." We only say that we have no evidence of it. The only thing approaching evidence would be such an argument as that of Bishop Lightfoot on the generalisation of the Epistle to the Romans, whereby that Epistle was made to serve as a statement of doctrine for general use as well as for the Christians in Rome.¹ But this is by no means proved, if it be not disproved.

Let us take for a moment Professor Ramsay's theory that the Epistle to the Galatians was written from Syrian Antioch before St. Paul started on his third missionary journey. Now, let it be remembered that there has to be inserted between the writing of this letter and the Epistle to the Romans, which we know to have been written at the end of the third missionary

¹ *Biblical Essays*, "The Structure and Destination of the Epistle to the Romans."

journey,¹ three years at Ephesus, to say nothing of the time spent in getting there, and in going from Ephesus through Macedonia to Corinth. And further, it must be remembered that during this long interval of time in St. Paul's case, he has had much on his mind. Anxiety about the churches, disloyalty of his converts—these we know, from the Corinthian Epistles, to have been his lot. It is most unlikely then that so long an interval of time, in which so much has been done and thought about, should have elapsed between the two Epistles.² We do not say it is absolutely impossible, only that it is extremely unlikely, and it would require very strong evidence of another kind to convince us of it.

Or again, take the theory widely held in Germany at one time, that the Epistle was written from Ephesus at an early stage of St. Paul's three years' stay there. Well, this is possible, in the same way as Professor Ramsay's theory is possible, but there is very little to choose between the *à priori* likelihood of the one and of the other.

The simplest and most natural explanation of the strong similarity of style and diction between the Epistles to Rome and the churches of Galatia respectively, is that the interval of time between their composition was very short. Such a hypothesis must take precedence of all others, until it is shown to be

¹ See chapter vi. of this essay.

² It does not seem to me that Mr. F. Rendall's words (*Expositor*, 1894, *The Galatians of St. Paul and the Date of the Epistle*), supposing them to be true, find an application in this particular case. "A man may well repeat the same thoughts and the same expressions at considerable intervals, if the intervening tenor of his life and his environment continue constant."

impossible or at least unlikely on other grounds. This, then, shall be our hypothesis from this point.

Assuming, as we now do, that the Galatian Epistle is separated from that to Rome by only a short interval, we have next to ask which Epistle ought to take the precedence in point of time. On this point Bishop Lightfoot says: "There can be no reasonable doubt which of the two Epistles contains the earlier expression of the thoughts common to both. The Epistle to the Galatians stands in relation to the Roman letter, as the rough model to the finished statue; or rather, if I may press the metaphor without misapprehension, it is the first study of a single figure, which is worked into a group in the latter writing. To the Galatians the Apostle flashes out in indignant remonstrance the first eager thoughts kindled by his zeal for the Gospel striking suddenly against a stubborn form of Judaism. To the Romans he writes at leisure, under no pressure of circumstances, in the face of no direct antagonism explaining, completing, extending the teaching of the earlier letter by giving it a double edge directed against Jew and Gentile alike. The matter, which in the one Epistle is personal and fragmentary, elicited by the special needs of an individual church, is in the other generalised and arranged so as to form a comprehensive and systematic treatise. Very few critics of name have assigned a priority of date to the Roman Epistle."¹

It is only fair here to say, in reference to this last sentence, that Dr. Clemen has in his *Chronologie der*

¹ *Galatians* p. 49.

paulinischen Briefe come to the conclusion that Galatians is later than Romans. But Dr. Clemen's view is only part of a general upset (of his making) of the whole chronology of St. Paul's life, so that it does not seem to me at all likely.¹ Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam remark: "There is much that is arbitrary in the whole of this reconstruction, and the common view seems to us far more probable that the Epistle to the Romans marks rather the gradual subsidence of troubled waters than their first disturbing."

We seem, then, to have a fairly general agreement among English scholars that the Galatian Epistle is the earlier of the two; and the theory that the Epistle to the Galatians is a recension of the Roman Epistle adapted to a particular set of churches does not find support. It is satisfactory that Professor Ramsay dates Romans after Galatians.

We shall, then, put the Galatian Epistle a little before that to the Romans; and then we have to face the fact that the Epistle to the Galatians must have been written about the same time also as the Second Epistle to the Corinthians,² and a certain similarity with this Epistle may be expected. And similarity there is—a similarity, as Lightfoot says, "consisting not so much in words and arguments as in tone and feeling." And he quotes Jowett's "just and appreciative criticism": "In both there is the same sensitiveness in the Apostle to the behaviour of his converts to himself, the same

¹ I have not gone into Dr. Clemen's arguments. I have seen his book, but have made no study of it.

² See argument of chapter vi. above.

earnestness about the points of difference, the same remembrance of his 'infirmity' while he was yet with them, the same consciousness of the precarious basis on which his own authority rested in the existing state of the two churches. In both there is a greater display of his own feelings than in any other portion of his writings, a deeper contrast of inward exaltation and outward suffering, more of personal entreaty, a greater readiness to impart himself." And Bishop Lightfoot adds: "If it were necessary to add anything to this just and appreciative criticism, the Apostle's tone in dealing with his antagonists would supply an instructive field for comparison. Both Epistles exhibit the same combination of protest and concession in combating the exclusive rights claimed for the elder Apostles, the same vehement condemnation of the false teachers guarded by the same careful suppression of names, the same strong assertion of his Apostolic office tempered with the same depreciation of his own personal merits."¹

The whole of Bishop Lightfoot's reasoning respecting the relative dates of these four Epistles of the third missionary journey, which he thus arranges: 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, seems so powerful that it is difficult to understand how it can fail to carry conviction.

We will assume the order which he has by his well arranged arguments decided, and turn to investigate the consistency of this dating with the Galatian Epistle

¹ *Galatians*, p. 44. Bishop Lightfoot's Essay is so exceedingly good that we may be excused for making such long quotations from it. The whole of it deserves careful reading.

and with the results of our reasoning respecting the destination of the Epistle.

Now, let it be noted first of all that the date we are supporting in no way conflicts with the South Galatian theory. For the only way in which, so far as I can see, it can conflict with it is to be found in the two expressions τὸ πρότερον (Gal. iv. 13) and οὕτως ταχέως (Gal. i. 6). I do not see any other single point of conflict. And after all what are these? Why, even on Lightfoot's own confession we cannot press the meaning of τὸ πρότερον to be *on the former of my visits*, implying that there were only two. τὸ πρότερον may quite well mean *formerly*, the words being intended to mark a contrast between *once* and *now*. I have argued at length in the fifth chapter of this Essay that this is the more likely meaning, principally on the ground that this makes better sense of the whole passage, the reading of which must not be interrupted at τὸ πρότερον, as if the sentence δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς εὐηγγελισάμην ὑμῖν τὸ πρότερον could be understood apart from καὶ τὸν πειρασμὸν ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ.; and partly because the rendering of τὸ πρότερον, as *on the former of my two visits*, seems to me hardly admissible logically. For I take it that the natural meaning would be, if the adverb be comparatively used, that "because of an infirmity of the flesh I evangelised you on the former occasion of my evangelising." And I question whether in New Testament language a second evangelisation is possible. But I do not press this last point if others differ from me. I still think that the other rendering is the one that accords best

with the context, and on that account alone I should prefer it.

Then let us look at οὕτως ταχέως. This expression we have already examined in the preceding chapter, and we have there decided that there is not implied in the words any necessary comparison with some independent point of time. The words may mean *so hastily, so quickly*, and need not be rendered *so soon*. And even if they mean *so soon*, there is nothing to indicate for certain from what time *so soon* is to be reckoned.

It will be well to look at the question of this Galatian defection in relation to our present hypothesis as to the date of the Epistle. We are assuming the Epistle to be one of four composed on the third missionary journey. We have already, in chapter vi., been getting an insight into some of the work that engaged the Apostle during that time. We have seen going on the collection of alms for the saints at Jerusalem, and we have seen the activity necessitated by this—delegates sent to collect, and representatives of the churches coming back with them to go to Jerusalem with the Apostle to minister the gift to those for whom it was intended. All this we have seen. And does not this show us how St. Paul must have been in constant communication with the different churches? how he must have had news of them? This is implied in his own words in 2 Cor. xi. 28: χωρὶς τῶν παρεκτὸς ἢ ἐπίστασίς μοι ἢ καθ' ἡμέραν ἢ μέριμνα πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. *Anxiety about all the churches*—may not the Galatian defection be one

cause of such anxiety? We have seen that this Epistle to the Corinthians was probably composed just before that to the Galatians. May not then, the Galatian apostasy be already known to St. Paul when he wrote of his "anxiety"? May he not have heard of it from one of his ministering agents, who had been visiting the churches of Galatia in connection with the collection for the saints? May it not be that this agent had brought news to St. Paul when he was at Ephesus, or at Troas, or after he crossed to Macedonia? These are questions we cannot decide; but we can see how easily possible, under the circumstances, it was for St. Paul to have had information of the defection of the Galatians from the pure Christian Gospel he had given them; and we can understand how the news of their apostasy may have startled him, coming as it may have done soon after a report he had had of them of a different character. And we need not wonder if he writes: *I marvel that ye are so quickly removing from him that called you, etc.*

We can never finally explain οὕτως ταχέως, because we can never know the exact circumstances; but we can easily see that an explanation is not an impossibility.

I see, then, no serious difficulty, but only a necessity to acknowledge ignorance when we read θαυμάζω ὅτι οὕτως ταχέως μετατίθεσθε κ.τ.λ.

It is worth observing that Lightfoot, who interpreted οὕτως ταχέως to mean *so soon after your call*, yet considered that an interval of ten years might be

allowed without a straining of language.¹ I cannot, then, see that there is any necessary conflict between the South Galatian theory and the date of the Epistle for which we are contending, even if οὕτως ταχέως be interpreted at the greatest disadvantage to the theory of the destination of the Epistle which we have adopted.

Then, as to the greeting from those described as οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί, we know that at this point in the third missionary journey St. Paul must have been constantly joined by those who were ministering for him in the matter of the collection for the saints, and we can well understand that the Epistle to the Galatians may have been written when he had several of these with him. The mention of Gaius, a man of Macedonia, who is coupled with Aristarchus in Acts xix. 29, and of Erastus along with Timothy in the 22nd verse, shows that there were others travelling with the Apostle and ministering for him besides those who were to go to Jerusalem with him. And there is no period in the whole of St. Paul's ministry when, so far as we know, such a greeting as that in the Galatian Epistle would seem more appropriate.

It may also be pointed out that if this date be correct, Titus would be known to the churches of Galatia, for it is most probable, as he is with St. Paul and is his messenger to the Corinthian Church, as we have already seen, that he had come with the Apostle from Syria. The reference to Titus, then, in

¹ *Galatians*, p. 42.

the Galatian Epistle (*pace* Professor Ramsay) is naturally explained.

It is quite possible, again, that the words of iv. 16, "So then am I become your enemy, because I tell you the truth?" may have reference to something that St. Paul had said to the Galatians when he visited them on his way to Ephesus. But it is better to acknowledge that we have no real clue to the meaning of the words, which we may reasonably think would be quite intelligible if we knew all the circumstances.¹

But we may ask what interval of time is possible between the writing of the Epistle to the Galatians and that to the Romans on our present hypothesis. To this query I think it would be fair to answer, that the Epistle to the Romans being written from Corinth, that to the Galatians might reasonably be put back to the time just after 2 Corinthians was written in Macedonia, not *very* long after St. Paul crossed over from Troas in his anxiety to meet Titus. For supposing the Epistle to the Galatians to have been written just after 2 Corinthians, we can well understand how the subject of the Galatian Epistle must have been working itself out to its final conclusion in the Roman Epistle in St. Paul's mind. We can understand how it may have formed the basis of that "much exhortation" (*παρακαλέσας αὐτοὺς λόγῳ πολλῷ*), which St.

¹ I cannot help thinking that it may be possible to interpret these words as applying to what St. Paul had said in the Epistle itself. It is as if he said: "I hope I have not become your enemy now by my plain speaking." For, remember, he has already called them *senseless Galatians* and said other hard things in iv. 9, 10.

Luke tells us the Apostle gave in Macedonia as he went to Achaia (Acts xx. 2). Any one who has had to preach much and often, knows how so doing tends to bring into focus some subject which is much dealt with. And the same applies to constant teaching other than that from the pulpit. The Epistle to the Romans seems to me to be just such a treatise as would result from the Apostle turning over the subject of the Galatian Epistle constantly in his mind, and presenting its argument in many discourses to others.

I believe the Epistle to the Galatians to be inspired, and I believe the Epistle to the Romans to be inspired, because they are the products of an inspired mind, but I believe all the same that the argument of the Epistle to the Romans is evolved from that contained in the Galatian Epistle, and that this evolution was brought about in a natural way. The most likely way I can conceive of is, that the Apostle thought much and talked much of the subject until it assumed its final form. In all this there is the working of the Spirit of God, but on a man's mind and not on a machine.

The conclusion to which we have come, then, is that the Epistle to the Galatians is to be dated shortly after the second to the Corinthians. That date, suggested by the similarity between the Roman and Galatian Epistles, taken as a working hypothesis, is perfectly consistent with the contents of the Epistle to the Galatians, and it reasonably accounts for such an expression as *all the brethren who are with me*. Such a date, too, synchronising as it does with the much preaching of Acts xx. 2, accounts perfectly well for a

period of such development of thought as took place between the composition of the Galatian and Roman Epistles respectively.

It has been urged by Mr. F. Rendall¹ as an argument against this dating of the Epistle, that the Epistle is silent as to the collection for the saints; a fact that is inexplicable if the Epistle was written just at the time when the importance of this collection was clearest to the Apostle's mind. We may set against this objection some words of Bishop Lightfoot's. He writes: ²

"A little later on another passage occurs in which the vehemence of St. Paul's language is quite unintelligible at first sight. 'Be not deceived,' he says, 'God is not mocked, for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap. . . . Let us do good unto all men' (Gal. vi. 7-10). The admonition is thrown into a general form, but it has evidently a special application in the Apostle's own mind. An allusion in the First Epistle to the Corinthians supplies the key to the difficulty. 'As I gave orders to the Churches of Galatia, even so do ye.' He had solicited their alms for the suffering brethren of Judaea. The messenger, who had brought him word of the spread of Judaism among the Galatians, had also, I suppose, reported unfavourably of their liberality. They had not responded heartily to his appeal. He reproves them in consequence for their backwardness. . . ."

And it is a piece of corroborative evidence in favour of this dating that, as Lightfoot has pointed out, the

¹ *Expositor*, 1894, p. 261.

² *Galatians*, p. 55.

opening words of Gal. vi., "Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye which are spiritual restore such a one in the spirit of meekness ; looking to thyself lest thou also be tempted," receive a natural explanation if we remember that the Apostle had just been writing to the Corinthians concerning the incestuous person whose punishment he had insisted on in the first Epistle : "Sufficient to such a one is this punishment which was inflicted by the many ; so that contrariwise ye should rather forgive him and comfort him, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow" (2 Cor. ii. 6, 7). The Corinthians, from being indifferent, had turned to harshness and vindictiveness, which the Apostle has here to reprove.

In conclusion, then, we pay our tribute of gratitude to the great Scholar and Bishop who has proved by arguments so clear and cogent that the Epistle to the Galatians is one of four of the third missionary journey. We do this the more readily because we have had to differ from him in regard to the Destination of the Epistle. But this difference from one from whom so much has been learnt, and yet will be learnt, is not one that need be regretted ; for if Bishop Lightfoot were now alive, he would, we believe, be the first to acknowledge that he was wrong, and that Professor Ramsay deserves the thanks of all Biblical students for interpreting that expression, so impossible to understand without just that historical grasp of Asia Minor which he has won for himself—*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν.*

APPENDIX.

THE VISIT TO JERUSALEM REFERRED TO IN GALATIANS II.

It will not be amiss to consider briefly the problem of identifying the visit to Jerusalem recorded in Gal. ii. with one of the visits of the Acts. This is, I venture to think, a question that has been better left until after a thorough investigation had been made of (1) the Locality of the churches of Galatia, and (2) the Date of the Galatian Epistle. As I have already said, the result of trying to treat three different problems all at once is inevitably confusion. But now that we have given what we believe to be the correct answers to the two questions: Whither and Whence was the Epistle to the Galatians written? we may turn to this third question: With which visit recorded in the Acts is the visit of Gal. ii. to be identified?

Now, the historian of the Acts has to tell of *five* visits to Jerusalem paid by St. Paul after his conversion.

1. The visit recorded in Acts ix. 26 ff. This visit must without question be identified with that referred to in Gal. i. 18, 19 in the words: "Then after three

years I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother." It is true that, without St. Paul's own account of his visit, which he declares (with the solemn asseveration, *Behold, before God, I lie not*) to have been *μετὰ τρία ἔτη*, we should have supposed from St. Luke's narrative that the interval between the conversion and this visit was shorter than this. But, of course, the words *μετὰ τρία ἔτη* do not imply an interval of three years according to Jewish reckoning, as we know from the quotation of our Lord's words, *μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐγείρομαι* (Matt. xxvii. 63), which we compare with *τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγερθήσεται* in Matt. xvii. 23.

2. The visit recorded in Acts xi. 29, 30 in the words: "And the disciples, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren that dwelt in Judea; which also they did, sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Saul." That this visit to Judea was in actual fact one to *Jerusalem* is clear from Acts xii. 25: "And Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem,¹ when they had fulfilled their ministration, taking with them John whose surname was Mark."

3. The visit of Acts xv. 2 ff.: "And when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and questioning with them, the brethren appointed that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question"; the question being, as the first verse explains, whether circumcision was essential to salva-

¹ It is unnecessary here to touch on the readings *ἐξ* and *εἰς*.

tion. No less than twenty-nine verses of this chapter are taken up with this visit.

4. The visit implied in Acts xviii. 22, though Jerusalem is not actually mentioned: "And when he had landed at Caesarea, he went up and saluted the church, and went down to Antioch." No one is likely to question that a visit to Jerusalem is implied in the words, "he went up and saluted the church."

5. The visit after the third missionary journey detailed in Acts xxi. 15-xxiii. 30.

We have no reason to think that St. Paul visited Jerusalem after the date of his conversion more than these five times.

Now, there can be no question that the whole point of St. Paul's argument in the first two chapters of his Epistle to the Galatians is the fact that his Apostolic authority was conferred upon him from above, and that it in no way depended on those who were Apostles before him for its validity. The opening words of the Epistle, "Paul, an apostle, not from men, neither through man, but through Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead," may be looked upon as the enunciation of a proposition of which chapters i. and ii. are the demonstration. "I did not," St. Paul says, "receive the gospel from man, nor was I taught it, but through revelation of Jesus Christ. For . . ." and then follows the proof of this statement.

The proof may be summed up thus: (1) He was once a persecutor of the Church of God, and desisted because of a revelation of the Son of God. (2) When

he was called, he did not confer with man, not even with those who were Apostles before him. (3) Not until *μετὰ τρία ἔτη* did he go up to Jerusalem; then he did go to visit Cephas, with whom he stayed fifteen days; but other of the Apostles saw he none, save James the Lord's brother. (4) Then he came into Syria and Cilicia, and remained unknown to the churches of Judaea except by hearsay. (5) Then *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν* he went up again to Jerusalem, but *by revelation*, and conferred with James and Cephas and John, who gave to him (and Barnabas) the right hands of fellowship, recognising the grace that was given to him, and that he had been already entrusted (*πεπίστευμαι*) with the gospel of the Uncircumcision as Peter was with that of the Circumcision.

Here is the whole point of the argument. His Apostleship of the Gentiles was independent of those who "were Apostles before him."

Now, it must be noticed that Barnabas plays a prominent part in this visit to Jerusalem of chapter ii. This fact disposes, I think, once and for all of any possibility of identifying this particular visit with any visit recorded in the Acts later than the third of the five enumerated above. After that visit the split occurred between Barnabas and Paul; and even if the two met as friends again, there is no room for a visit of the two together to Jerusalem in the Acts. To say that this was some visit not recorded in the Acts is to suggest something highly improbable. It is certainly not a hypothesis deserving of any attention unless we can show that the visit of

Galatians ii. is irreconcilable with those actually recorded by St. Luke.

So, then, the visit of Galatians ii. is likely to be either the second or third visit recorded in the Acts. Our purpose now is to discuss which of these two is the more likely.

Now, if the visit of Gal. ii. be identified with the *second* visit of the Acts, then it took place *before* St. Paul's first missionary journey, that is, before he founded the churches of Galatia, which we have seen reason to interpret as the churches of Antioch and Iconium, and Lystra and Derbe.

If, on the other hand, the visit of Gal. ii. be identified with the *third* visit of the Acts, it took place *after* St. Paul's first missionary journey, that is, after he founded the churches of Galatia, for whom the argument of his Epistle was intended.

The question then arises (and it is well to face it at once): Does the argument of the Epistle make it necessary that we should suppose that the visit to Jerusalem recorded in Gal. ii. took place before St. Paul became an Apostle to the churches of Galatia? It is important to have an answer to this question. For if we think that the Jerusalem visit of Gal. ii. must precede the founding of the churches of Galatia in order that St. Paul's argument may not become invalidated, we shall, if we have already made up our minds that the South Galatian theory is true, rush to the conclusion that the visit of Gal. ii. must be identified with the second visit of the Acts, *viz.*: that recorded in Acts xi. 29, 30.

It is proposed now to show that *the identification of the visit of Gal. ii. with a visit in the Acts is absolutely independent of the South Galatian theory.* To prove this, we have to show that St. Paul's argument respecting the independence of his Apostolic authority of those who were Apostles before him does not depend for its validity on the visit to Jerusalem, recorded in the second chapter, being prior to the founding of the churches of Galatia to whom the Epistle was addressed.

For let us take it, as a temporary hypothesis, that the preaching of the Gospel by St. Paul in what henceforth became the churches of Galatia preceded the visit to Jerusalem of Gal. ii. What becomes of the argument respecting St. Paul's independent Apostolic authority? Is it reduced to nonsense, or does it still stand? My answer to this is that the argument is in no way weakened, but rather strengthened.

For when we come to look at the place in the argument occupied by the visit to Jerusalem, on our present hypothesis, we see that the point of its being mentioned becomes perfectly lucid. In the first chapter of the Epistle St. Paul has made it clear that, at any rate up to the founding of the churches of Galatia, he was independent of those who were Apostles before him. After their founding he goes up, as we read in the second chapter, to Jerusalem along with Barnabas, and confers with "those who were of repute" (τοῖς δοκοῦσιν). He confers privately with them. He lays before them the Gospel which he is already preaching (ὃ κηρύσσω) among the Gentiles, but

privately, lest by any means "he should be running or was running in vain."

We had better lay hold of this remarkable expression. St. Paul recognises here that if he were not an Apostle his work among the Gentiles had been in vain.¹ The work he had already done in founding the churches of Galatia was no true work at all. It was to no purpose (εἰς κενόν). No subsequent transference of authority committed to him by the Apostles could be retrospective. The work was in vain if he were not *already* an Apostle. St. Paul does not shrink from this admission.

Was he then an Apostle? That is exactly his point, that "those of repute" (οἱ δοκοῦντες) who, by the Judaisers, are extolled as the true pillars of the Church, recognised and allowed that he was an Apostle. They did not make him an Apostle by their recognition of him. They acknowledged that he was *already* an Apostle. Let us quote St. Paul's own words (vv. 6 ff.): "But from those who were reputed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me: God accepteth not man's person)—they, I say, who were of repute imparted nothing to me; but contrariwise, when they saw that I had been intrusted (πεπίστευμαι) with the gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with that of the circumcision (for he that wrought for Peter unto the apostleship of the circumcision wrought for me also unto the Gentiles); and when they perceived the grace that was given

¹ It is, of course, a subject alien to our present one, but these words are not without their bearing on the Apostolic foundation of the Church.

unto me, James and Cephas and John, they who were reputed to be pillars, gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision."

It may, then, be stated emphatically that St. Paul's argument to prove the independence of his Apostolic authority is in no way invalidated, if the founding of the churches of Galatia preceded the visit to Jerusalem recorded in the second chapter of the Epistle.

We might even go further than this and say that the argument is made stronger. For then the visit to Jerusalem, when real conference was held with "the pillars" of the circumcision, had not even taken place when the Galatians were evangelised. *A fortiori*, then, was that preaching independent of any other Apostolic authority than St. Paul's own. In this case it was only after his larger work among the Gentiles was begun that an interchange of views took place between him and those who were Apostles before him. And that work was recognised by the Apostles at Jerusalem, not in prospect merely, but as a *fait accompli*. He was proved to be an Apostle by what he had done as much as by what he claimed to be commissioned to do.

And certainly it might be argued that the visit to Jerusalem under discussion was after the founding of the churches of Galatia, because St. Paul uses the word *ὑμᾶς* in connection with this visit. He says that, when he was in Jerusalem, he would not yield to the Judaisers in the matter of the

circumcision of Titus in order that the truth of the Gospel *may continue with you*. I have already said (p. 81) that I do not consider this interpretation of ὑμᾶς as certain. For St. Paul might quite well be speaking prospectively in using the word ὑμᾶς. It was, after all, not for the Galatians in particular that he was contending, but for the Gentiles generally who should accept the Gospel.

I hope, then, I may claim to have made good my contention that it is not necessary, for the validity of St. Paul's argument in defence of his independent Apostolic commission, that the visit to Jerusalem in Gal. ii. should have preceded the evangelisation of those to whom the Epistle was addressed. Professor Ramsay has said that "visits paid after St. Paul had converted the Galatian churches did not enter into his argument."¹ I venture to say that this is not proved; nor can it be proved without deciding the main question of the correct identification of the visit to Jerusalem.

As has been already pointed out, the problem of the identification of the visit to Jerusalem can and must be kept separate from that of the locality of the churches of Galatia. Professor Ramsay has nothing to fear for his South Galatian theory. A general acceptance of that is a matter of time. But unless the Professor will learn to separate from his theory those other theories of his, *viz.* that the Galatian Epistle dates from Antioch, and that the visit to Jerusalem is the second of the five visits

¹ *Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 109.

in the Acts, he must not be surprised if some, who see Bishop Lightfoot's arguments for a different dating of the Epistle and a different identification of the Jerusalem visit to be unanswered, still adhere also to the North Galatian theory.

Seeing, then, that St. Paul's argument does not need for its validity the assumption that the visit to Jerusalem preceded the founding of the churches of Galatia; but that, on the other hand, the argument is valid, whether the visit be before or after the founding of those churches, we will approach the subject independently of any presupposition in regard to this.

Now, in regard to the first of the two visits to Jerusalem in the Acts with which it is at all likely that the visit of Gal. ii. is to be identified—that is, the second of all the five visits, *viz.* that in Acts xi. 29, 30—St. Luke has very little to say. But that little leaves us in no doubt as to the purpose for which Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem. Agabus, a prophet, had signified by the Spirit that there should be a famine over all the world. This famine came to pass in the reign of Claudius. Meanwhile, the disciples determined to send to minister to the brethren that were in Judaea (εἰς διακονίαν πέμψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ ἀδελφοῖς). This determination was carried out, and Paul and Barnabas were deputed to take the offering to the elders at Jerusalem. Beyond the fact that they carried out their duties we have no information.

Of the next visit (Acts xv.) St. Luke has much

more to say. The purpose of this visit also was definite, and, as far as we can tell, *one*. Certain men had come down from Judaea to Antioch and taught the brethren, saying, "Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses ye cannot be saved." With these Judaisers Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and questioning, and it was arranged (ἐταξάν—presumably the subject of this is to be understood to be *the brethren*) that Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of them, should go to Jerusalem to the Apostles and elders about this question. So was brought about the Jerusalem Council, whose decisions are recorded in Acts xv. 22-29. It will be observed that those decisions have reference to one question, *viz.* the relation of Christianised Gentiles to the Jewish law.

Let us turn now to what St. Paul says of his visit to Jerusalem in Galatians ii. He does not say definitely for what purpose he went up. He says that he went with Barnabas, taking with him Titus also. He went up κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, and he laid before them (simply αὐτοῖς) "the gospel which I am preaching among the Gentiles, but privately to those of repute, lest by any means I should run or was running in vain." And then comes the emphatic statement: "But not even Titus who was with me as a Gentile¹ was compelled to be circumcised."

We notice, then, that, while St. Paul does not say that he came up to Jerusalem to consult with the other Apostles on the subject of the necessity for

¹ I have discussed this phrase in chapter vii.

circumcision in the case of Gentile converts, he implies that the subject of circumcision was one on which he took a very firm ground of his own on this occasion. He would not have Titus circumcised though he was his own chosen Gentile companion.

Well, the whole context implies that St. Paul won his point. Those of repute (οἱ δοκοῦντες) imparted nothing to him (οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο); but, on the contrary, they saw (ἴδοντες) that he had been entrusted with the Gospel of the Uncircumcision as Peter was with that of the Circumcision; they recognised (γνόντες) the grace that was given to him, and so they—James and Cephas and John—gave to him and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, “that we should go to the Gentiles (τὰ ἔθνη), and they to the Circumcision.” And then follow these words: “Only they would that we should remember the poor, which very thing I was also zealous to do.”

Now, Professor Ramsay has used these last words to prove that the visit of Gal. ii. must be identified with the earlier of the two visits in the Acts, which was undertaken, as we have seen, for the very purpose of ministering to those whom the predicted famine had reduced to want. Professor Ramsay further fortifies his position by his understanding of the words κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν (ii. 1) which he thinks are explained by the prophecy of Agabus spoken through the Spirit (διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος).

On the other hand, Bishop Lightfoot contends strongly for the identification of the visit with that of Acts xv.,¹ and the particular objections he makes to

¹ *Galatians*, pp. 123 ff.

the identification, now advocated by Professor Ramsay, are: (1) that chronologically it is wrong, as it would put back the Apostle's conversion to too early a date; and (2) that "the account in the Epistle clearly implies that his Apostolic office and labours were well known and recognised before this conference."

With the second of these two objections I find myself in agreement. With the first not so strongly, for exact chronology is always a matter of great difficulty.

I must confess that it seems to me extremely unlikely that so severe a struggle as there evidently was over the question whether Titus should be circumcised should have taken place during the visit of Acts xi. 29, and yet nothing have been said about it by St. Luke, for it is on this very subject of circumcision that he enlarges later in chapter xv. The question was felt by St. Luke to have been an important one. It does not seem likely that if the principle for which St. Paul was contending had been won, as it clearly *was* won in the visit of Gal. ii., at the stage of Acts xi. 29, it would have come up again as a new question in Acts xv.

On the other hand, it is not at all difficult to understand that, when the agreement was made in regard to the mission to the Circumcision and Uncircumcision respectively in Gal. ii., the Apostles in Jerusalem might insist on the necessity for remembering the poor Jewish Christians at Jerusalem, a thing which St. Paul says he was himself anxious to do—a thing, too, which he later on proved himself very diligent in doing.¹

¹ See chapter vi. of this essay on collection for the saints.

Further, although nothing is said by St. Luke which can be interpreted as *κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν*, we still feel that there is room for such "revelation" in between the lines of the narrative of the Acts. We are not told the steps by which the brethren at Antioch arrived at their decision to send Paul and Barnabas to the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem. But that there may have been "revelation" by prophets, as in Acts xiii. 2, is not at all impossible nor unlikely.

Nor, again, does the narrative of Acts xv. make impossible a preliminary *private* conference between Paul and Barnabas, on the one side, and the other Apostles on the other. The purpose of St. Luke's narrative in the Acts is to explain how the critical question that had arisen was settled by universal consent in the Jerusalem Council. St. Paul's purpose in the Epistle to the Galatians is to set forth his independence of those who were Apostles before him. Both accounts, then, may be perfectly true and consistent, but to record the private conference would have been alien to St. Luke's purpose.

It seems to me, then, that these three considerations in favour of identifying the visit of Galatians ii. with that of Acts xv. greatly outweigh the arguments that have been given for the other identification :

1. St. Paul's account of the visit clearly implies that his missionary labours among the Gentiles had already begun. This was the case at the time of Acts xv., but not of Acts xi. 29.

2. The principle of non-circumcision of Gentile con-

verts was plainly contended for and won in the visit of Gal. ii. This was just the purpose and result of the visit recorded by St. Luke in Acts xv.

3. The account given by St. Paul of his visit shows how on the occasion of it the other Apostles became convinced of his mission to the Gentiles. They saw (*ἴδοντες*) that the Gospel of the non-circumcision had been entrusted to him. With this fact we compare St. Luke's statement that Barnabas and Paul rehearsed "what signs and wonders (*σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*) God had wrought among the Gentiles by them";¹ such signs and wonders serving, as the context shows, to bring conviction to such as heard.

But, then, it is argued that, if the visit of Gal. ii. be identified with that of Acts xv., St. Paul becomes guilty of omitting to mention one of his visits to Jerusalem. And this visit he was bound in all honesty to allude to.

To this an immediate answer can be given. The purpose St. Paul had in mind in referring to his visits to Jerusalem at all was to show how little or how far he had had communications with those who were Apostles before him. He is not enumerating visits to Jerusalem, but interviews with the other Apostles. Now, there is nothing in the narrative of Acts xi. 29, 30 to lead us to conclude that on his second visit after his conversion he had any conference with Apostles. The "relief" for the brethren in Judaea was sent to the *elders*. The time was one of persecution, and, as Bishop Lightfoot has suggested, it is quite likely that the

¹ Acts xv. 12. Cf. 2 Cor. xii. 12.

Apostles were not just then in Jerusalem (Acts xii. 17). Professor Ramsay does not approve of this suggestion, and thinks that the Apostles would not desert their post, seeing that concerning the earlier persecution against the Church, at the time of St. Stephen's death, the historian tells that they were all scattered abroad throughout the regions of Judaea and Samaria *except the Apostles*.¹ But then it must be remembered that the turn of the Apostles for direct persecution came later, when James, the brother of John, was killed with the sword and Peter was put into prison. Such was the state of things when Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem with the offerings for the famine-stricken city (Acts xii). It is not at all unlikely, then, that Paul and Barnabas had no opportunity for any interview with the Apostles on this occasion.²

I cannot, then, see that St. Paul's argument respecting the independence of his Apostolic authority is rendered unfair by his omission to mention a visit to Jerusalem, in which no conference with Apostles seems to have taken place. And it has already been shown that the argument is not invalidated but rather

¹ Acts viii. 1.

² It is worth while to observe that Dr. Hort took the same view as Bishop Lightfoot in regard to this matter. (See *The Christian Ecclesia*, pp. 61, 62). At the same time I am bound to acknowledge that there is a serious discrepancy between the view of Dr. Hort in the above place and that given by him on p. 35 of his *Prolegomena, Romans and Ephesians*, where, speaking of this relief sent to Judaea, he says: "By this act the new Syrian church gave practical acknowledgment of obligations to the original church at Jerusalem, and St. Paul himself was brought into personal friendly relations with the original Apostles." Needless to say, I am not accusing Dr. Hort of inconsistency, for his works are posthumous and not revised by himself. No doubt the *The Christian Ecclesia* gives his later view, these lectures being subsequent to the others.

strengthened by taking the visit of Gal. ii. to be subsequent to the founding of the churches of Galatia.

My conclusion, then, is that the visit to Jerusalem recorded in the second chapter of the Epistle to the Galatians is to be identified with that of Acts xv. And such identification seems to me to be a corroboration of, and certainly in no way an impediment to, the South Galatian theory.

Nothing has been said above of the phrase *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν*. We have not discussed whether the fourteen years are to be reckoned from the conversion or from the third year after the conversion when the visit to Jerusalem of Gal. i. 18 took place. Such discussion has been purposely avoided, because it seemed that either of these two interpretations was admissible. The actual figures of a chronological table must come after, and not before, a general discussion of identification. And in constructing a chronological table I think that either interpretation of *διὰ δεκατεσσάρων ἐτῶν* is permissible as a working hypothesis.

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